A VIEW OF THE PRESENT STATE OF IRELAND

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By EDMUND SPENSER

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A vewe of the present state of Ireland discoursed by way of a dialogue betwene *Eudoxus* and *Irenius*. 1596. by Ed: Spenser gent.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

From Derrick's *Image of Ireland*, 1581.

Specially drawn under the Editor's direction.

Eudox: But if that countrye of Irelande whence yow latelye came be so goodlye and comodious a soyle as yee reporte, I wounder that noe course is taken for the turninge thereof to good vses, and reducinge that salvage nacion to better gouerment and cyvillitie:

Iren: Marye so there haue bene dyverse good plottes devized and wyse counsells cast alreadye about reformacion of that realme, but they saye it is the fatall destynie of that land, that noe purposes whatsoever are mente for her good will prosper or take good effecte, which whether yt proceed from the verie *Genius* of the soyle, or influenc of the starrs, or that almightie god hath not yett appointed the tyme of her reformacion, or that he reserueth her in this vnquiet state still, for some secreete scourge which shall by her come vnto England, yt is harde to bee knowen but yett much to be feared:

Eudox: Surelye I suppose this but a vayne conceipte of symple men, which Iudge thinges by theire effectes and not by theire causes: For I would rather thincke the cause of this evill, which hangeth vpon that Countrye, to proceed rather of the vnsoundnes of the counselles and plottes which yow saye haue bene oftentymes layde for her reformacion, or of fayntenesse in followinge and effectinge the same, then of any such fatall course or appointment of godd as yow misdeme, but it is the manner of men that when they are fallen into any absurditye, or theire accions succeed not as they would, they are readye alwayes to impute the blame thereof vnto the heavens, so to excuse theire owne follyes and ymperfeccions, So haue I also hearde yt often wished (even of some whose greate wisdome in opynion should seeme to Iudge more soundlye of so weightie a consider-

acion) that all that lande weare a sea poole: which kynde of speach is the manner rather of desperate menn farr dryven to wishe the vtter ruyn of that which they cannot redresse, then of graue Counsellors which ought to thincke nothinge so harde but that thorough wisdome maye bee maistred and subdued, since the Poet sayth that the wyseman shall rule even over the starrs, much more over the earth: For were yt not the parte of a desperate Phisition to wishe his deseased patiente dead rather then to applye the best endeavors of his skyll for his recouerie, but since wee are so farr entred, lett vs I praye yow [a litle] devise of those evylls by which that countrye is helde in this wretched case, that yt cannot as yow saye be recured. And yf yt bee not paynefull to yow tell vs what thinges duringe your late contynewance there, yow obserued, to bee most offensiue, and ympeachfull vnto the good rule and gouerment thereof.

Iren: Surelye E*udoxus* the evills which yow desyre to bee recounted are verie manye and almost countable with those which were hydden in the baskette of P*andora:* but since yow so please I will out of that infynite nomber reckene but some that are most capitall, and commonlye occurrente both in the lyfe and condycions of pryvate menn, and also in the menage of publique affayres and pollycie, The which yow shall vnderstand to bee of dyverse natures, as I obserued them, For some of them are of verye greate antiquitye and longe continewance; others more late and of lesse endurance, Others dalie growinge and increasinge Contynewallye as the evill occasions are everye daye offreed:

E*udox:* Tell them [then] I praye yow in the same order that yow haue now rehearsed them,: For there

cann bee noe better methode then this which the verye matter yt self offreth: And when yow haue reckned all the evills, lett vs heare your opynion for redressinge of them, After which there will perhapps of yt self appeare some reasonable waye to settle a sounde and perfecte rule of gouerment by shvninge the former evills and followinge the offred good, The which method wee maye learne of the wise phisicions which first require that the maladye bee knowen thorowlye and discouered, After wardes doe teach how to cure and redresse yt: And lastlie doe prescribe a dyet with streight rules and orders to bee dalye obserued, for feare of relapse into the former dysease or fallinge into some other more dangerous then yt: :

I*ren:* I will then accordinge to your aduisement begynne to declare the evills which seemeto me most hurte full to the Common weale of that lande, And first those which I said were most antient and longe growen, and they are also of three kyndes: The first in the lawes, the second in Customes, the last in relidgion:

E*udox:* Why I*renius* can there bee any evill in the lawes. can the thinges which are ordayned for the saiftye and good of all: turne to the evill and hurte of them: This well I wote both in that state and in all other that were they not contayned in dewtye with feare of lawe which restrayneth offences, and inflicteth sharpe punishment to misdoers, noe man should enioye anye thinge euerie mans hande would bee against another, Therefore in fyndinge faulte with the lawes I doubte me yow shall much overshoote your self, and make me the more dislyke your other dislikes of that gouerment:

I*rennius:* The lawes E*udoxus* I doe not blame for them

selues knowinge [righte well] that all lawes are ordayned for the good of the comon wealth, and for repressinge of lycensiousnesse and vyce: but it falleth out in lawes noe otherwise, then yt doth in Phisicke, which was at first devized and is yett dalye mente and ministred for the health of the paciente, but neuertheles wee often see that eyther thorowe ignorance of the diseaze, or vnseasonablenes of the tyme, or other accydentes comminge betwene in steade of good yt worketh hurte, and out of one evill, throweth the patient into many miseries: So the lawes were at first intended for the reformacion of abuses, and peaceable contynewance of the subiectes: but are sythence eyther disanulled or quite prevaricated thorowe change and alteracion of tymes, yett are they good still in them selues, but to that Common Wealth which is ruled by them they worke not that good which they should, and sometymes also perhapps that evill which they would not: :

Eudox: Whether doe yow meane this by the Common lawe of the realme or by the statute lawes and actes of parlamentes:

Iren: Surelye by them both: For even the Common lawe beinge that which *William of Normandie* brought in with his conquest and layde vpon the necke of England, though yt perhapps fytted well with the state of England then beinge, and was readelye obayed thorowe the power of the Commaunder, which had before subdued the people to him and made easye waye to the settlinge of his will: yett with the state of Ireland peradventure yt doth not so well agree, beinge a people altogeather stubborne and vntamed, and yf yt were once tamed, yet now latelye hauinge quite shaken of theire

yooke and broken the bandes of theire obedyence: For England before the entrance of the Conquerour was a peaceable kingdome, and but latelye envred to the mylde and godlie gouerment of Kinge Edward surnamed the confessor, besides nowe latelye growen vnto a loathinge and detestacion of the vniust and tyrranous rule of Harold an Vsurper, which made them the more willinge to accepte of any reasonable Condycions and order of the newe Victor, thinckinge surelye yt coulde bee noe worse then the latter, and hopinge well yt would bee as good as the former, yet what the proofe of the first bringinge in and establishing of those lawes was, was to manye full bytterlye made knowen: But with Ireland yt is farr otherwise: For yt is a nacion ever acquainted with warrs though but amongst them selues, and in theire owne kynde of militarie discipline trayned vpp even from theire youthes which they haue never yet bene taughte to laye asyde, nor made to learne obedyence vnto the lawe, scarselye to knowe the name of lawe, but insteade thereof haue alwayes preserued and kepte theire owne lawe which is the *Brehon* lawe:

Eudox: What is that which yow call the *Brehon* lawe: [it is a worde to vs alltogither vnknowne.]

Iren: It is a certaine rule of righte vnwritten, but deliuered by tradycion from one to another, in which oftentymes there appeareth greate showe of equitie in determininge the righte betwene partie and partie, but in manye thinges repugninge quite both to godes lawe and mans, as for example, In the case of murther: The *Brehon* that is theire Iudge will compound betwene the murtherer and the frindes of the partie murthred, which prosecute the accion, That the mallefactor shall

giue vnto them, or to the Childe or wyfe of him that is slayne a recompence which they call an *Iriach*, by which vile lawe of theirs manye murders are amongst them made vpp and smothered. And this Iudge, beinge as he is called the Lordes *Brehon*, adiudgeth for the most parte a better share vnto his Lord, that is thee Lord of the soyle or the heade of that septe and also vnto him self for his Iudgment a greater porcion then vnto the plaintives or parties greived:

Eudox: This is a most wicked lawe indeed but I trust yt is not nowe vsed in Ireland, since the kinges of England have had the absolute dominion thereof and established there owne Lawes there:

Iren: Yes trewlye for there are many wyde countries in Ireland in which the lawes of England were neuer established, nor any acknowledgement of subiection made and also even in those which are subdued, and seeme to acknowledge subiection, yet the same *Brehon* lawe is previlye practized amongst them selues, by reason that dwellinge as they doe whole nacions and septes of the Irishe togeather, without any English man amongst them they maye doe what they liste, and compounde or altogeather conceale amongst them selues there owne crymes of which noe notice can bee had by them which would and might amende the same, by the rule of the Lawes of Englande:

Eudox: What is this which yow saye, and is there anye parte of that realme or any nacion therein, which haue not yett bene subdued to the Crowne of England? ded not the whole realme vniuersallye accepte and acknowledge our Late Prince of famous memorye *Henrie* the eight theire onelye king and leige Lord:

Iren: Yes verylye In a parlament holden in the tyme

of Sir Anthonye St Legar then Lord deputie, all the Irishe Lordes and principall men came in, and beinge by faire meanes wrought therevnto acknowledged Kinge Henrye for theire soueraigne Lord, reseruinge yet (as some saye) vnto them selues all theire owne former previlidges and signories invyolate:

E*udox*: : Then by that acceptance of his soueraignetie they also accepted of his lawes, whie then should any other lawes be nowe vsed amongst them: :

I*ren:* Trew yt is that thereby they bounde them selues to his lawes and obedyence and in case yt had bene fol‑lowed [vpon] them as yt should haue bene, and a gouer‑ment therevpon presentlye setled amongst them agreable therevnto, they should haue bene reduced to perpetuall Civillitye and contayned in contynewall dewtye: But what bootes yt to breake a Colte and to lett him streight rvn Loose at randome: So were this people at first well handled and wiselye broughte to acknowledge alleig‑ance to the kinges of England, but beinge streight left vnto them selues and there owne inordynate lyfe and manners, they eftsones forgott what before they were taught, and so soone as they were out of sight by them selues shooke of theire brydles and begann to Colte anewe, more lycensiouslye then before:

E*udox:* It is great pyttie that so good an oportunitye was omitted, and so happye an occasion foreslacked that might haue bred the eternall good of that land, but doe they not still acknowledge that submission:

I*ren:* Noe they doe not for nowe the heires and poster‑itie of them which yeilded, the same are (as they saye) eyther ignorante thereof or doe wilfullye denye or sted‑fastly disavowe yt: :

E*udox:* How can they so doe iustlye, Doth not the

acte of the parente in any lawfull grante or conveyance bynde his heires for ever therevnto? Since then the ancestors of these that now live yeilded them selues then subiectes and leige men, shall yt not tye theire children to the same subiection?

Iren: They saye noe, For theire Auncestors had noe estate in anye theire landes, Signiories or heridytamentes longer then duringe theire owne lyves, as they alledge; For all the Irishe doe hould theire Landes by Tanistrye, which is to saye noe more but a personall estate for his lyeſtyme, that is T*anist:* by reason that he is admitted therevnto by election of the Countrye:

Eudox: What is this yow call T*anist:* and T*anistry* they bee names and termes never hearde of or knowne to vs?

Ireniu: It is a custome amongst all the Irishe that presentlie after the deathe of any theire cheif Lordes or Captaines, they doe presentlye assemble them selues to a place generallye appointed and knowen vnto them to chuse another in his steade: where they doe nominate and electe for the most parte not the eldest sonn nor anye of the children of theire Lord deceased, but the next to him of bloude, that is the eldest and worthiest as commonly the next brother vnto him if he haue anye, or the next cozine Germaine, or so forth as any is elder in that kynred or septe: And then next to him doe they chuse the nexte of the blood to be T*anist* who shall next succeed him in the said Captenrye, yf he lyve therevnto.

Eudox: doe they vse any Cerymonie in this election. For all barborous nacions are comonlye great obseruers of Ceremonyes and supersticious rites::

Iren: They vse to place him that shalbee theire Capten vpon a stone, alwayes reserved for that purpose, and

placed commonlye vpon a hill in manye of the which I haue seene the foote of a man formed and graven which they saye was the measure of theire first Capteines foote whereon he standinge receaveth an oath to preserve all the former auntiente Customes of the countrye inviolable, and to deliuer vpp the succession peaceably to his *Tanist* and then hath a wande deliuered vnto him by some whose proper office that is, after which discendinge from the stone he turneth him self round thrice forward and thrice backward:

Eudox: But how is the Tanist chosen?

Iren: They saye he setteth but one foote vpon the stone and receyveth the lyke oath the Capteine did:

Eudox: Haue yow ever heard what was the occasion and first begynninge of this Custome, For yt is good to knowe the same, and maye perhapps discouer some secrete meaninge and intente therein verye materiall to the state of that gouerment:

Iren: I haue hearde that the begynninge and cause of this ordynance amongst the Irishe was speciallye for the defence and mainteynance of theire lande in theire posteritie, and for excludinge all innovacion or alyenacion thereof vnto strangers and especiallye to the Englishe: For when theire Capten dieth yf the Signiorie should discende vnto his childe and he perhapps an Infante, any other mighte perhapps stepp in betwene and thurste him owte by stronge hand, beinge then vnable to defende his righte or to withstande the force of a forraner, And therefore they doe appointe the eldest of the kynn to haue the Signyorie, for that he commonlye is a man of stronger yeares and better experyence to maintayne the inheritance and to defende

the Countrye, eyther against the next bordringe Lordes which vse comonlye to encroch one vpon another, as each one is stronger, or against the Englishe which they thincke lye still in wayte to wype them oute of there landes and territories, and to this ende the Tanist is al-wayes readye knowne, yf yt should happen the Capten suddenlie to dye or to be slayne in battayle or to bee oute of the Countrye to defende and kepe yt from all such doubtes, and dangers: For which cause the *Tanist* hath also a share of the Countrie allotted vnto him, and cer-taine Cuttinges and spendinges vpon all the Inhaby-tantes, vnder the Lord:

E*udox:* When I heare this worde Tanist yt bringeth to my remembrance what I haue redd of *Tania* that it should signifye a province or Signiorie: as A*quitania* L*usitania* and B*ritania*, the which some doe thincke to be deryved of D*ania*, that is from the Danes, but I thincke, amisse, But sure yt semeth that yt came ancyentlye from those barborous nations that overr ran the world, which possessed those dominions, whereof they are now so called: And so yt maye wel be that from thence the first oridginall of this worde *Tanist* and *Tanistry* came, and the Custome thereof hath sythence as many others ells bene contynewed, But to that generall subieccion of the lande whereof wee formerly spake, mee semes that this Custome or tenure can bee noe barr nor ympeachment seinge that in open parlament by theire said acknow-ledgment they wayved the benyfite thereof, and submitt-ed them selues to the ordynance of theire newe souer-aigne:

I*ren:* Yea but they saye as I earst tould yow that they reserued theire tytles tenures, and signiories whole and

sound to them selues, and for proof alledge that they haue euer sythence remayned to them vntouched, so as nowe to alter them they saye should bee a greate wronge:

E*udox:* What remedie is theire then or meanes to avoyde this inconvenience, For without first cuttinge of this dangerous custome yt semeth harde to plante any sound ordynance, or reduce them to a cyvill gouerment, since all theire evill customes are permitted vnto them:

I*ren:* Surelye nothinge hard for by this acte of parlament, whereof wee speake, nothinge was gyven to Kinge Henrie, which he had not before from his Auncestors, but onelye the bare name of a kinge: For all other absolute power of principallitye he had in him self before deryved from manye former kinges, his famous progennitors and worthye Conquerors of that land, the which sythence they first conquered and by force subdued vnto them, what neede afterwardes to enter into any such Idle termes with them to be called theire kinge when as yt is in the powre of the Conqueror to take vpon him self what tytle he will over his dominions conquered. for all is the Conquerors, as T*ullie* to B*rutus* saith, And therfore mee seemes in stead of so great and meritorious a service as they boast they performed to the kinge, in bringinge all the Irishe to acknowledge him for theire leige they did greate hurte vnto his tytle, and haue lefte a perpetuall gall in the mynde of that people, who before beinge absolutelye bound to his obedyence, are now tyed but with tearmes, whereas both theire lyves, theire landes and theire liberties were in his free power to appointe, what tennures, what lawes what Condycions he would over them, which were all his, against which there could bee noe

rightfull resistance, or yf there were he mighte when he would establishe them with a stronger hand:

E*udox:* Yea but perhapps yt seemed better vnto that noble kinge to bringe them by there owne accorde to his obedyence and to plante a peaceable gouerment amongst them, then by such vyolent meanes to plucke them vnder. Neyther yet hath he thereby lost any thinge that he formerlye had, for havinge all before absolutelye in his owne power, it remayneth so still [vnto him] he havinge neyther forgeven nor forgone any thing thereby vnto them, but havinge receyved something from them, that is a more voluntarie and loyall subiection, So as her maiestie maye yett, when yt shall please her alter any thinge of those former ordynances, or appointe other lawes that maye bee more both for her owne behoof, and for the good of that people:

I*ren:* Not so for yt is not so easie now that thinges are growen into an habyte and haue there certaine course, to change the Channell, and turne theire streames another waye: For they maye haue now a coullorable pretence to withstand such innovacion havinge accepted of other lawes and rules alreadye:

E*udox:* But yow saye they doe not accepte of them but delight rather to leane to theire ould customes and B*rehon* lawes, though they bee much more vniust and also more vnconvenient for the common people, as by your late relacion of them I gathred, As for the lawes of Englande they are surelye most iust and most agreable both with the gouerment and with the nature of the people, How falls yt out then that yow seeme to dislyke of them, as not so meete for that realme of Ireland, and not onelye the common lawe but also the statutes and

actes of parlament which weare speciallye provided and intended for the onelye benifyte thereof:

Iren: I was aboute to haue tould yow my reason therin but that yow your self drewe mee awaye with other questions, for I was shewinge yow by what meanes and in what sorte the possitiue lawes were first brought in and established by the Norman conquerour, which were not by him devised nor applyed vnto the state of the realme then beinge, nor as yt might best bee (as should by lawgyvers principally be regarded) but were indeed the verie lawes of his owne Countrye of Normandye, the Condycion whereof how farr yt differreth from this of England, is apparant to euerie least iudgment, but to transfer the same lawes for the gouerning of the realme of Ireland was much more inconvenient, and vnmeete: for he found a better advantage of the tyme then was in the plantinge of them in Ireland, and followed the execution of them, with more severitie, and was also present in person to overlooke the Magistrates, and to overrawe the subiectes with the terror of his sworde and countenance of his maiestie: But not so in Ireland: for they weare otherwise effected, and yet doe so remaine, so as the same lawes mee seemes can ill fytt with there disposission or worke that reformacion that is wished, for lawes ought to be fashioned vnto the manners and condycion of the people, to whom they are meant, and not to be ymposed vpon them accordinge to the symple rule of right, for then as I said in stead of good they maye worke ill, and perverte Iustice to extreame iniustice: For he that would transferr the lawes of the Lacedymonians to the people of *Athens* should fynde a great absurdytie and inconvenience: For those

lawes of *Lacedemon* were devised by *Lycurgus*, as most proper and best agreinge with that people, whom he knewe to be inclyned altogeather to wars: And therefore wholie trayned them vpp even from theire Cradles in armes and millytarie exercyses cleane contrarye to the institucion of *Solon*, who in his lawes to the *Athenianes* labored by all meanes to temper theire warlike courrages with sweete delightes of learninge, and sciences, so that as much as the one excelled in Armes thother exceded in knowledge, the like regarde and moderacion ought to be had in tempering and menaging of this stubborne nacion of the Irishe, to bring them from theire delight of lycensious barborisme vnto the loue of goodnes and Civillitie:

Eudox: I cannot see how that maye better bee then by the decypline of the lawes of England. For the Englishe were at first as stoute and warlike a people as ever were the Irishe, and yett yee see are now brought to that Civillitie, that noe nacion in the worlde excelleth them in all goodlye conversacion, and all [the] studyes of knowledge and humanitie:

Iren: What they now bee, both yow and I see verie well, but by how manye thornye and harde wayes they are come therevnto, by how manye Civill broyles, by how many tumultuous rebellyons, that even hazard often tymes the whole saiftye of the kingdome, maye easelye bee Considered, All which they never the lesse fairelye overcame by reason of the contynewall presence of the kinge whose onelye person is oftentymes in steade of an Armye to Contayne the vnrulye people from a thowsand evill occasions, which that wretched kingdome, is for wante thereof dalie carryed into: The which

when so they make heade, noe lawes noe pennalties, can restraine, but that they doe in the vyolence of that furie treade downe and trample vnderfoote all both dyvine and humaine thinges, and the lawes them selues they doe speciallye rage at and rende in peeces as most repugnante to theire libertie and naturall fredome, which in theire madnes they effect:

E*udox:* It is then a verye vnseasonable tyme to pleade lawe, when swordes are in the handes of the vulgare or to thinck to retaine them with feare of punishmentes, when they looke after libertie and shake of all gouerment:

I*ren:* Then so yt is with Ireland Contynewallie for the sworde was never yett out of theire hand, but when they are wearie with warrs and brought downe to extreame wretchednes, then they Creepe a lyttle perhapps and sewe for grace, till they haue gotten newe breath and recovered strength againe: So as yt is in vaine to speake of plantinge of lawes and plottinge of pollycies, till they be altogeather subdued:

E*udox:* Were they not so at the first conquering of them by Strangbowe in the tyme of Kinge Henrye the seconde? was there not a thorowe waye then made by the sword, for the ymposinge of the lawes vpon them, and were they not then executed with such [a] mightie hand as yow saye was vsed by the Norman Conqueror, what odes is there then in this case, why should not the same lawes take as good effecte in that people as they did here: beinge in lyke sorte prepared by the sworde and brought vnder by extreamitye and whye should they not Contynewe in as good force and vygor for the Contayning of the people::

Iren: The Case yet is not lyke but there apperes great odds betwene them, for by the Conquest of Henrye the seconde trewe yt is that the Irishe were vtterlye van-quished and subdued, so as noe enimye was able to hould vpp head against his powre, in which there weakenes he brought in his lawes, and settled them as nowe theythere remaine lyke as William the Conqueror did, so as in thus much they agree but in the rest that is in the chefest they varie: For to whom did kinge Henrie the seconde impose those lawes, not to the Irishe for the most parte of them fledd from his powre into desertes, and Mountaines levinge the wyde Countrie to the Con-queror whoe in theire stead eftsones placed English men who possessed all the land and did quite shutt owte the Irishe or the most parte of them: And to those newe inhabytantes and Colonies he gaue his lawes, to wete the same lawes vnder which they were borne and bred, the which yt was not deffyculte to place amongst them, beinge formerlye well envred therevnto; vnto whom afterwardes there repared dyverse of the poore distressed people of the Irish for succor and releif, of whom such as they thought fitt for labor and industrious-lye disposed as the most parte of theire baser sorte are they receyved vnto them as theire vassalls, but scarslye voutsafed to imparte vnto them the benyfite of those lawes, vnder which them selues lyved, but euerie one made his will and comaundment a lawe vnto his owne vassall, Thus was not the lawe of England euer properlye applyed vnto the Irishe nacion as by a pur-posed plott of gouerment but as they could insynuate and steale them selues vnder the same by theire humble carriaige and submission::

Eudox: How comes yt then to passe that havinge bene once so lowe brought and thorowlye subiected, they afterwardes lifted them selues so stronglie vpp againe, and sythence doe stand [soe] stiflye against all rule and gouerment

Iren: They saye that they contynewed in that lowlynesse vntill the tyme that the division betwene the [two] howses of Lancaster and Yorke arose for the Crowne of England: at which tyme all the great Englishe Lordes, and gentlemen which had greate possessions in Ireland repayred over hither into England [some] to succor theire freindes here, and to strengthen theire partie for to obtaine the Crowne, others to defende theire landes and possessions [here] against such as hovered after the same vpon hope of the alteracion of the kingdome and successe of that syde, which they favored and effected, Then the Irishe whom they before had bannished into the mountaines where they lyved onelye vpon white meates as yt is recorded: seinge now theire [landes] so dispeopled and weakned, came downe into all the plaines adioyninge, and thence expellinge those fewe Englishe that remayned, repossessed them againe, since which tyme they haue remayned in them and growinge greater have brought vnder them manye of the English, which were before theire Lordes. This is one of the occasions by which all those Countries which lyinge neare vnto any mountaines or Irishe desertes, had bene planted with Englishe, were shortly displanted and lost: as namelye in Mounster all the landes adioyninge vnto Slewlougher Arlo, and the bogge of Allon. In Connaght all the Countries bordringe vpon the Culvers: Moneroo and Orourkes Countrie: In Leinstér all the

landes neighbouringe vnto the Mountaines of Glan-mallo vnto Shellelagh vnto the Brisklagh and Poul-monte: In Vlster all the Countries nere vnto Tirconell Tyrowne and Fertellagh and the Skottes:

E*udox:* Surelie this was a greate violence: but yet by your speach it semeth that onelye the Countryes and Valleys nere adioyninge vnto those mountaines and de-sertes were thus recouered by the Irishe. but howe comes yt nowe that wee see almost all that realme repossessed of them. was there anye more such euill occasions growinge by the troubles of England, or did the Irishe out of these places so by them gotten breake further, and streche them selues out through the whole lande: For now for ought that I can vnderstand, there is noe parte but the bare Englishe pale, in which the Irishe haue not greatest footinge:

I*ren:* Both out of these small begynninges by them gotten nere the mountaines did they spreed them selues into the Inland, and also to theire further advantage, there did other like vnhappie accidentes happen out of England, which gaue harte and good oportunytie to them to regaine theire ould possessions: For in the raigne of kinge Edward the iiijth thinges remayned yet in the same state that they were, after the late breakinge out of the Irishe which I spake of: And that noble Prince began to caste an eye vnto Ireland and to mynde the reformacion of thinges there rune amisse: for he sente over his brother the worthie Duke of Clarence, who havinge married the heire of Lacie, and by her havinge all the Earledome of Vlster and much in Meathe and in Mounster, verie carefullye wente aboute the redressing of those late evills, and though he could

not beate out the Irish againe, by reason of his shorte contynewance, yett he did shutt them vpp within those narrow corners and glennes vnder the mountaine foote, in which they lurked, by buildinge stronge holdes vpon everie border, and fortefyinge all passages (Amongst the which he builte the Castle of Clare in T*homond:* of which countrie he had the Inheritance, and of Mortymers landes adioyninge, which is now by the Irish called Killalowe) and kepte [them] from breakinge any further: But the tymes of that good Kinge growinge [alsoe] troublesome, did lett the thorowe reformacion of all thinges. And therevnto soone after was added another fatall mischeif, which wrought a greater callamitye then all the former: For the said Duke of Clarence then Lord Lievetennant of Ireland was by practize of evill persons aboute the kinge his brother called thence awaye, and soone after by synister meanes was cleane made awaye, Presentlye after whose death all the northe revoltinge did sett vpp, Oneale for theire Capteine, beinge before that of small power and regard, and there arose in that parte of Thomonde one of the Obriens called Murrogh en ranagh, That is Morris of the ferne or waste wylde places, who gatheringe vnto him all the relickes of the discontented Irishe eftesones surprized the said Castle of Clare, burnte and spoyled all the Englishe there dwellinge and in shorte space possessed all the Countrie beyond the Ryver of Shenan and nere adioyninge: whence shortelye breakinge forth lyke a suddaine tempest he overran all Mounster, and Connaught, breakinge downe all the holdes and fortresses of the Englishe, defacinge and vtterlie subvertinge all corporate townes that were not stronglie walled:

For those he had noe meanes nor engynes to overthrowe, neyther in deed would he staye at all about them, but spedelie ran forward, countinge his suddennesse his most vantaige, that he might overtake the English before theye could fortefie or gather them selues togeather. So in shorte space he cleane wyped out manye greate townes, as first Inshequin, then Killalowe, before called clarryfort, afterwardes, Thurles Mourne Buttevant: and manye others whose names I cannot remember, and of some of which there is now noe memorie nor signe remayninge, vpon report whereof there flocked vnto him all the scume of the Irishe out of all places, that ere longe he had a mightie armye, and thence marched forth into Lyinster, where he wrought great outrages, waistinge all the Countrie where he wente: For yt was his pollicie to leaue noe houldes behinde him, but to make all plaine and waist, In the which he soone after created him self kinge, and was called Kinge of all Ireland, which before him I doe not reade that any did so generallie but onelie Edward Lee Bruce.

E*udox:* What was there ever any generall kinge of all Ireland, I never heard yt before, but that yt was alwaies whilst yt was vnder the Irishe deuided into fower and sometymes into fyve kingdomes or dominions, But this Edward lee Bruce what was he that he could make him self kinge of all Ireland

I*ren:* I would tell yow, in case yow would not challenge mee [anone] for forgettinge the matter which I had in hand, that is the inconvenience and vnfitnes which I supposed to be in the lawes of the land:

E*udox:* Noe surelie I haue noe cause, for neyther is

this impertynent therevnto, for sythence yow did sett your course (as I remember) in your first parte to treat of the evills which hindereth the peace and good ordringe of that land, amongst which that of the inconvenience of the lawes was the first which yee had in hand, this discourse of the overrunning and waisting of the realme is verie materiall therevnto, for that yt was the begynning of [all the] other evills which sythence haue afflicted that lande, and opened a waye vnto the Irishe to recouer theire possession, and to beate out the Englishe which had formerlie wonne the same, and besides yt will giue a great light both vnto your seconde and thirde parte, which is the redressinge of those evills, and plantinge of some good forme of pollycie therein by renewinge the remembrance of those occasions and accydentes by which those ruins happened, and layinge before vs thensamples of those tymes to be compared with ours, and to be rewarded by those, which shall haue to doe in the like, Therefore I praye yow tell them vnto vs, and as for the pointe where yow lefte I will not forgett afterwardes to call you backagaine therevnto::

Iren: This Edward Lee B*ruce* was the Brother of Robert Lee B*ruce*, who was kinge of Scotland, at such tyme as Kinge Edward the seconde raigned here in Englande and bare a most malicious and spitefull mynde against Kinge Edward, doinge him all the scathe hee could and annoyinge his territories of England whilst he was troubled with Civill warrs of his Barrons at home: He also to worke him the more mischeif, sente over his said brother Edward with a power of Skottes, and Redshankes into Ireland, where by meanes of the Lacies and of the Irishe with whom they

Combyned, they gott footinge, and gathringe vnto him all the scatterlins and outlawes oute of all the woodes and mountaines in which they longe had lurked, marched forth into the Englishe pale, which then was cheiflie in the North, from the pointe of Dunluce and beyonde vnto Dubline, havinge in the middest of her knockfergus Belfast *Armagh Carlingeford,* which are now the most out boundes and abandoned places in the Englishe pale, and some noe parte thereof at all: For yt stretcheth now noe further then Dundalke towardes the North: there the said Edward lee *Bruce* spoyled and burnte all the ould Englishe pale puttinge to the swoord all the Englishe Inhabytantes, and sacked and raced all Cytties and Corporate townes noe lesse then *Murro en Ranagh* of whom I earst tould yow: For hee wasted *Belfast Greencastle Kells Beltalbot Castletowne Newtowne* and manie other verie good townes and stronge houldes he rooted out the noble families of the Audleyes, the Talbotes the Tutchites, the Chamberlaines, the Mandevils, and the Salvages, though of the Lord Salvage there remaine yet an heire, that is nowe a verie poore gentleman dwellinge at the Ardes: And comminge lastlie to Dundalke, he theire made him self Kinge and raigned by the space of one whole yeare, by the name of Edward Kinge of Ireland, vntill that Kinge Edward of England havinge sett some quiet in his affaires at home, sente over the Lord Iohn Bremingham to be generall of the warres against him, who encountrynge him nere to Dundalke overthrewe his Armye and slewe him self, and presentlye followed the victorie so hotelie vpon his Scotes, that he suffred them not to staye or gather them

selues togeather againe, vntill they came to the sea coast; notwithstanding all the waye as they fledd, for verye rancor and despight, they vtterlye waisted and consumed whatsoever they had before left vnspoyled, so that of all townes, and Castles, Fortes bridges, and habytacions he lefte not anye sticke standinge nor anye people remayninge: for those fewe, which yet survived fled from his furie further into the Englishe pale that now is, Thus was all that goodlie Countrie vtterlie waisted and lefte desolate, and as yett remayneth to this daye which before had bene the cheif ornamente and bewtie of Ireland: For that parte of the North sometime was as populus and plentifull as any parte in England and yeilded vnto the Kinges of England as yett appereth by good recordes, thirtie thowsand markes of ould monye by the yeare, besyde manye thowsand of able men to serue them in theire warrs, [And] sure yt is yet a most bewtifull and sweete Countrie as any is vnder heaven: seamed throughout with manie goodlie ryvers replenished with all sortes of fishe most aboundantlie: sprinckled with verie manie sweete Ilandes and goodlie lakes lyke little inland seas, that will carrie even shipps vpon theire waters, adorned with goodlie woodes fitt for buildinge of howses and shipps so commodiouslie, as that if some princes in the worlde hadd them, they would soone hope to be Lordes of all the seas, and ere longe of all the worlde, Also full of verie goode portes and havens openinge vpon England, [and] Scotland, as invitinge vs to come vnto them, to see what excellent commodities that Countrie can affoord, besydes the soyle yt self most fertile, fitt to yeild all kynde of fruite,

that shalbe committed thereinto, and lastlie the heavens most mylde and temperate, though some what more moyst, then the partes towardes the west:

Eudox: Trulie *Irenius* what with your prayses of the Countrie, and what with [your discourse of] the lamentable dissolacion thereof, made by those ragtailes in Scotland, yow haue fylled me with a great compassion of theire Calamities, that I doe much pittie that sweet lande to be subiecte to so manie evills, as everie daye I see more and more throwne vpon her, and doe half begine to thincke that it is (as yee said at the begynninge) her fatall misfortune aboue all Countries, that I knowe to bee thus misserablie tossed and turmoyled with these variable stormes of afflictions: But since wee are thus farr entred into the consideracion of her mishapps, tell mee haue theire bene any more such tempestes, as yee terme them, wherein shee hath thus wretchedlie bene wracked:

Iren: Manie manie moe god wote haue there bene, in which her principall partes haue bene [rente and] torne asounder, but none that I can remember, so vniuersall as these, and yett the rebellion of Thomas fitz Garrett did well nighe stretch yt self into all partes of Ireland. But that which was in the tyme of the gouerment of the Lord Graye, was surelye noe lesse generall then all these for theire was noe parte free from the contagion, but all conspired in one to cast of theire subiection to the Crowne of England, Neverthelesse through the most wise and valyante handling of that right noble Lord, yt gott not that head, which the former evills found, for in them the realme was lefte lyke a shippe in a storme amiddst all the raginge surges,

vnruled and vndyrected of any: For theye to whome she was committed, eyther fainted in theire Labor, or forsooke theire charge: But he like a most wyse Pylot kepte her course carefullie, and helde her Nose stronglie [even] against those roringe byllowes, that he brought her saifelie out of all, so as longe after even by the space of xij or xiijtene yeres, shee roode at peace, through his onelie paines and excellent endurance. howeuer envye list to blatter against him., But of this wee shall haue more occasion to speake at another tyme, [nowe] yf it please yow lett vs returne againe into our first course:

E*udox:* Trewlie I am verie glad to here your iudgment of the gouerment of that honorable man so soundlie: For I haue in deed heard yt oftentimes maligned, and his doinges depraved of some, who I perceaue did rather of malicious mynde or pryvate grevance seeke to detracte, from the honor of his deedes and Counsells, then of any Iust cause, but he was nevertheles in the Iudgmentes of all wyse and good men defendid, and mayntayned; and now that he is dead, his immortall fame surviveth and florisheth in the mouthes of all the people, that even those which did backbyte him, are choked with theire owne vennom, and breake theire galls to heare his so honorable reporte: But let him rest in peace and turne wee to our more troublous matters of discourse, of which I am right sorie that yow make so shorte an ende and covet to passe over to your former purpose, for there bee manye other partes of Irelande which as I haue heard, haue bene noe lesse vexed with the lyke stormes, then those of which you haue treated, As the Countrye of the Byrnes and Tooles nere dubline with the insolente outrages and spoyles of

Feagh mc Hugh, the Countries of Carlo, Wexford, and Waterforde, of the Cavenaghes: The Countries of Leix, Kilkennye, and Kildare, of the Moores, The Counties of Offalie Meath and Langforde, of the Conhours, The Counties of Westmeath, Cavan and Louth, of the Orelies, the Kellies and manye others, So as the discoursinge of them should besydes the pleasure which should redound out of your hystorie, be also verie profytable for matter of pollicie:

Iren: All these which yee haue named and manye moe besydes oftentymes haue I right well knowen to kyndle greate fyres of tumultuous troubles, in the Countries bordringe vpon them. All which to rehearse should rather be to Cronicle tymes, then to search into the reformacion of abuses in that realme, and yett verie needfull yt wilbe to Consider them, and the evills which they haue [often] styrred vpp, that some redresse thereof and prevencion for the evills to come, may thereby the rather be devized. But I suppose wee shall haue a fytter oportunitie for the same, when wee shall speake of the particuler abuses and enormities of that gouerment which wilbe next after those generall defectes and inconveniences, which I said were in the lawes, Customes and relidgion:

Eudox: Goe to then in Godes name and followe the course which yee haue purposed to your self: for yt fytteth best I must confesse with the purpose of our discourse declare your opynion as yee begonne, about the lawes of the realme what incomodytie yee haue conceyved to be in them, Cheiflye in the Common lawe which I would haue thought most free, from all such dislykes

I*ren:* The Comon lawe is (as I before said) of yt self most rightfull and verye convenient, I suppose for the kingedome, for which yt was first deuized for this I thincke (as yt semes reasonable) that out of the manners of the people and abuses of the Countrye for which they were invented, they tooke theire first begynninge: For ells they should bee most vniust, for noe lawes of man accordinge to the streight rule of right, are iust, but as in regarde of the evills, which they prevent, and the saiftie of the common weale, which they provide for: As for example in the true ballancinge of Iustice yt is a flatt wronge to punishe the thought or purpose of any before yt bee enacted: For true Iustice punisheth nothinge but the euill acte or wicked worde, yet by the lawes of all kingdomes yt is a Capytall cryme to devise or purpose the death of the Kinge: The reason is for that when such a purpose is effected it should bee to late to devise of the punishment thereof, and should turne that Common weale to more hurte by such losse of theire Prince, then such punishment of the malefactors, and therefore the lawe in that case punisheth his thought: For better is a mischeif then an inconvenience, So that Ius Polliticum, though yt bee not of yt self Iust: yet by applycacion or rather necessitie, is made iust, and this onelye respecte maketh all lawes iust:, Now then if those lawes of Ireland be not lykewise applyed and fytted for that realme they are sure verye inconvenient.

E*udox:* Yow reason strongelie but what vnfytnes doe yow fynde in them for that realme, shew vs some particulers:

I*r:* The Comon lawe appointeth that all tryalls aswell of Crymes as tytles and rightes shalbe made by

verdicte of Iurye chosen out of the honestist and most substancyall freholders: now all the Freholders of that realme are Irishe, which when the cause shall fall betwene an Irishe man and an Englishe, or betwene the Quene and any Freholder of that Countrie, they make noe more scruple to passe against the Inglishe man or the Quene, though yt bee to strayne theire oathes, then to drincke mylke vnstrayned, so that before the Iurye goe togeather it is al to nothinge what theire verdicte wilbe, the tryall thereof haue I so often seene, that I dare confydentelie avouch the abuse thereof: yett is the lawe of yt self (as I said) good and the first instytution thereof beinge gyven to all Inglishmen verie rightfull, but now that the Irishe haue stepped into the rowmes of the Englishe, whoe are nowe become so hedefull and providente to kepe them forth from henceforth, that they make noe scruple of consience to passe agains them, It is good reason that eyther that course of the lawe for tryalls bee altered or other provision for Iuries bee made:

E*udox:* In sooth I*renius* yow haue discouered a pointe worth the Consideracion for hereby not onelye the Englishe subiect fyndeth noe indifferencie in decydinge of his cause be yt neuer so Iust: but also the Quene aswell in all pleas of the Crowne, as also for all inquiries for excheates landes attainted wardshipps, Concealmentes, and all such lyke is abused, and excedingelie endamaged:

I*ren:* Yee saye verie trewe: for I dare vndertake that at this daye, there are more attainted landes concealed from her maiestie, then shee now hath possessions in all Ireland and that is noe small inconvenience: For be-

sydes that shee looseth so much land as should turne her to great profytte, shee besydes looseth so manye good subiectes which might bee assured to her, as those landes would yeild inhabytantes and lyvinge vnto

Eudox: But does that people saye yow: make noe more consience to periure themselues in theire verdictes and to damn theire soules?

Iren: Not onelye so in theire verdictes but also in all other theire dealinges, speciallye with the Englishe they are most wilfullye bente, for though they will not seeme manifestlye to doe yt, yett will some one or other subtill headed fellowe amongst them picke some quirke, or devise some subtill evasion, whereof the rest will lightlie take holde, and suffer them selues easelye to bee ledd by him to that them selues desyred: For in the most apparante matter that may bee, the least question or doubte that can bee moved will make [a] stopp vnto them, and putt them quite oute of the waye: Besydes that of them selues they are for the most parte, so cautelous and wylie headed especiallye beinge men of so small experience and practize in lawe matters, that yow would wounder whence they borrowe such subtilties and slye shiftes:

Eudox: But mee thinckes this inconvenience might be much holped in the Iudges and cheif maiestrates which haue the chusinge and nominatinge of those Iurors yf they would haue Care to appointe eyther most English men or such Irish men as were of the soundest disposition, for noe doubte but some there bee incorruptable

Iren: Some there bee in deed, as yow saye: But then would the Irishe partye Crye out of parciallitye, and Complaine he hath not Iustice, he is not vsed as a sub-

iect, he is not suffered to haue the free benyfitte of the lawe, And these outcryes the Maiestrates there doe much shvne, as they haue cause, since they are so ryddelie harkened vnto here, Neyther can yt indeede although the Irishe parte would be contente, to bee so compassed, that such Englishe freeholders which are but fewe, and such faithfull Irish men which are indeed as fewe, shall alwaies be chosen for tryalls: For beinge so fewe they should soone be made wearie of theire Frehould, and therefore a good care is to bee hadd by all good occasyons, to encrease theire nomber, and to plante more by them, But were yt so that the Iuries could bee picked out of such choyce men as yee desyre, there would nevertheles bee as badd corruption in the tryall; For the evydence beinge brought in by the base Irishe people wilbe as deceytfull as the verdictes: For they care much lesse then the others, what they sweare, and sure theire Lordes maye compell them to saye anythinge: For my self haue heard, when one of that base sorte which they call Churles, beinge challenged and reproved for his falce oath, haue answered confydentlye, that his Lord commaunded him, and that yt was the least thinge he could doe for his Lord to sweare for him, So inconsyonable are these Common people, and so lyttle felinge haue they of god or theire owne soules good.

E*udox:* It is a most miserable case. but what helpe then can there bee in this, For though the manner of the tryall should be altered, yet the proof of everie thinge must needes bee by testymonies of such persons as the parties shall produce, which yf they shall corrupte, how can there [ever] any lighte of truthe appeare, what

remedye is theire for this evill, but to make heavye lawes and pennaltyes against periurors:

Iren: I thincke sure that will doe small good: For when a people are inclyned to anye vice or haue noe touch of Conscience, nor sence of theire evill doinge, yt is bootlesse to thincke to restrayne them by any pen-nalties or feare of punishment; but eyther the occasion is to be taken awaye or a more vnderstandinge of the righte and shame of the faulte is to be imprinted. For yf *Lycurgus* should haue made yt death for the *Lacidemon-ians* to steale they beinge a people which naturallye de-lighted in stealth, Or yf yt should be made a Capytall Cryme for the Flemminges, to be taken in drunckennes, there should haue bene fewe Lacedymonians soone lefte, and Fewer Flemminges. So ympossible yt is to remoue anye faulte so generall in a people with terror of lawes, or most sharpe restraintes

Eudox: What meanes maye there then bee to avoide this inconvenience: For the case sure semes verie harde::

Iren: Wee are not yett come to that pointe to devize remedyes for the evills, but onelye haue now to recounte them, of the which this that I haue tould yow is one defecte in the Common lawe:

Eud: Tell vs then I praye yow further, haue yow any more of this sorte in the Common lawe:

Iren: By rehearsall of this I remember also of another like, which I haue often observed in tryalls to haue wrought great hurte and hinderance, and that is the Exceptions, which the Common lawe alloweth to a fellon in his tryall: For he maye haue as you knowe

xxxvj exceptions peremptorie, against the Iurours of which he shall shewe noe cause, and as manye as he will of such, as he can shewe cause, By which shifte there beinge as I haue shewed yow such small store of honest Iurye men, he will eyther putt of his tryall, or dryve yt to such men as perhapps are not of the soundest sorte: By whose meanes yf he can acquite him self of the Cryme, as he is lykelie, then will he plague such as were broughte first to bee of his Iurie, and all such as made any partie against him, and when he comes forthe will make theire cowes and garrons to walke yf he doe noe other mis-cheif to theire persons:

E*udox:* This is a slye devise, but I thincke might sone bee remedyed, but wee must leave yt awhile with the rest in the meane tyme, doe yow goe forwarde with others

I*ren:* There [is] another noe lesse inconvenient then this which is for the tryall of accessaries to felonye: For by the common lawe the accessarie cannot be proceed-ed against till the principall haue receyved his tryall: Now the case often falleth in Ireland that a stealth be-inge made by a rebbell or an owtlawe the stollen goodes are conveyed to some husbandman or gentleman, which hath well to take to, and yett lyveth most by the recepte of such stealthes, where they are founde by the owner and handled, wherevpon the partie perhapps is appre-hended and comitted to gaole, or putt vpon suerties till the Sessions, at which the owner preferringe a byll of Indyctement proueth suffycientlye the stealthe to haue bene committed vpon him by such an owtlawe and to haue bene founde in the possession of the pris-oner against whom neverthelesse noe course of lawe

can proceed nor tryall can bee hadd, for that the princy-pall theif is not to be gotten, notwithstandinge that he lykewise standeth perhapps indicted at once with the receyvor beinge in rebellyon or in the woodes, where peradventure he is slaine before he can be gotten, and soe the receyvor cleane acquyted and discharged of the Cryme, By which meanes the theeves are greatlye en-curraged to steale, and theire maintayners imboldned to receyve theire stealthes, knowing how hardlie they can be brought to any tryall of lawe:

E*udox:* Trulie this is a great inconvenience and a greate cause as yow saye of the mainteynance of theves, knowinge theire receyvors alwayes readye: For would there bee noe receyvors, there would bee noe theves But this mee semes might easelye bee provyded for by some acte of parlamente, that the receyvor beinge convicted by good proofes, might receyve his tryall without the princypall:

I*ren:* Yow saye verie trewe E*udoxus,* but that is almost ympossible to be compassed, And herein also yow dis-couer another imperfection in the course of the common lawe, and first ordynance of the realme: For yee knowe that the said parlament must consiste of the Peeres, Gentlemen, Freholders and Burgesses of that realme yt self. Now these beinge perhapps them selues or the most parte of them (as maye seme by theire styffe with-standing of this acte) culpable of thys Cryme, or favorers of theire freindes which are such by whom theire kytchins are sometymes amendid, will not suffer any such statute to passe, yett hath yt oftentymes bene attempted, and in the tyme of Sir Iohn Parott verie earnestlie I remember labored, but by noe meanes could

bee effected, And not onelye this but many other lyke which are as needfull for the reformacion of that realme:

Eudox: This also is surelie a greate defecte but we maye not talke yow saye, of the redressing of this, vntill our seconde parte come, which is purposelye appointed therevnto. Therefore proceed to the recountinge of moe such evills yf at least yow haue anye more:

Iren: There is also a greate inconvenience, which hath wrought great damadge both to her maiestie, and to that Common wealth, through close and coullorable conveyances of the landes and goodes of Traytors, Fellons, and fugytiues as when one of them myndeth to goe into rebellyon, he will convey awaye all his landes & lordshipps to Feoffes in trust whereby he reserveth to him self but a state for terme of lyfe which beinge determined, eyther by the sword or by the haulter, theire land streight commeth to the heire, and the quene is defrauded of the intent of the lawe, which layde that grevous punishment vpon Traytors to forfeite all theire landes to the Prince to the end that men might bee the rather terrefyed from Comittinge Treasons. For manye which would lyttle esteme of theire owne lyves, yett for remorse of theire wyves and children should bee withheld from that haynous Cryme, This appeared plainelye in the late Earle of Desmound, for before his breakinge forthe into open rebellyon he had conveyed secretlye all his landes to Feoffes of trust, in hope to haue Cutt of her maiestie from the escheate of his landes:

Eudox: Yea: but that was well ynough avoyded: For the Acte of parlament which gaue all his landes to the Quene, did (as I haue hard) cutt of and frustrate all such Conveyances as had any tyme by the space of xij

yeares before his rebellion bene made within the Compasse whereof that fraudulente feoffment and manye other the lyke of his accomplisses and fellowe traytors were contayned

Iren: very trewe, but how hardlye that Acte of Parlamente was wrounge out of them, I can wytnes, and were yt to be [passed againe, I dare vndertake would never be] compassed: But were yt soe that such Actes might easelye be brought to passe against traitors and fellons, yet were yt not an endlesse trouble that noe traytor nor fellon should be attainted, But a parlament must bee called for bringinge his landes to the Quene, which the Common lawe gyveth her

Eudox: Then this is noe faulte of the common lawe, but of the persons which worke this fraude to her maiestie.

Iren: Yes marye for the common lawe hath left them this benyfitte, whereof they make advantaige, and wrest yt to theire bad purposes. So as they are thereby the bolder to enter into evill accion, knowinge that yf the worste befall them, they shall loose nothinge but them selues whereof they seme surelye verye carelesse, lyke as all barborous people are, as Caesar in his Comentaries sayth, verye fearelesse of deathe:

Eudox: But what meane yow of fugytiues here in or how doth this concerne them:

Iren: Yes verie greatelye: For yee shall vnderstande that there be manye yll disposed and vndewtyfull persons of that realme, lyke as in this pointe, there are also in this realme of England too manye which beinge men of good inheritance are for [dislike of the religion or daunger of the lawe into which they are runne or dis-

content of] the present government fled beyonde the seas, where they lyve vnder Princes that are her maies-ties professed Enymies, and converse, and are confydder-ate with other trators and fugitiues which are theire aby-dinge, The which neverthelesse, haue the benefyte and profites of theire landes here, by pretence of such coul-lorable conveyances thereof formerlie made by them to theire previe frindes here in trust, who secretlie send over vnto them the said revenewes, wherewith they are theire maintayned and enhabled against her maiestie:

Eudox: I doe not thincke that there be any such fugy-tiues, which are releived by the profite of theire landes in England: For theire is a straighter order taken: And yf there be any such in Ireland, yt were good that yt were lykewise loked vnto: For this evill maye easelye be remedyed: But proceed:

Iren: yt is also inconvenient in the realme of Ireland that the wardes, and marriages of gentlemens Children should bee in the disposition of any of those Irishe lordes as now they are, by reason that theire landes are helde by knightes service of those Lordes By which meanes yt commeth to passe, that those said Gentlemens children beinge thus in the warde of those Lordes, are not onelye thereby brought vpp lewdlie and Irishe lyke, but also for euer after so bounden to theire servyces, as that they will run with them into any disloyal action:

Eudox: This grevance *Irenius*, is also complayned of in England, but how can yt bee yemedyed, since the service must followe the tennor of the Landes, and the landes were gyven awaye by the Kinges of England to those Lordes when they first conquered that realme. And to saye truth this also would bee some preiudice to the Prince in her wardshipp:

Iren: I doe not meane this by the Princes ward, but by such as fall into the handes of the Irishe Lordes: for I could wishe and this I would enforce that all those wardshipps were in the princes disposition, for then yt might be hoped that she for the vniuersall reformacion of that realme would take better order for the bringing vpp of those wards in good Nourture, and not suffer them to come into so badd handes, And though these thinges bee alreadie passed Awaye by her progennytors former grantes, vnto those said Lordes, yet I could fynde a waye to remedye a greate parte thereof, as hereafter when fytt tyme serveth shall appeare. And since wee are entred into speach of such grantes of former Princes to soundrye persons of that realme of Ireland, I will mention vnto yow some other of lyke nature to this and of like inconvenience, by which the kinges of England passed vnto them a greate parte of theire prerogatiue, which though then yt were well intended and perhapps well deserved of them which receaved the same, yett now such a gapp of mischeif lyeth open thereby, as I could wishe weare well stopped, of this sorte are the grantes of the Countie Pallentynes in Ireland, which though at first were granted vpon good consideracion when they were first conquered, for that those landes laye then as a verie border to the wylde Irishe, subiect to contynewall invasion, so as yt was needfull to giue them greate privilidges to the defence of the inhabytantes thereof, yet now that it is noe more a border, nor frountyerd with enemies, whie should such privilidges be anye more contynewed:

Eudox: I would gladlie knowe what yow call a Countye Pallentine and whence yt is so called:

Iren: Yt was as I suppose first named Palatine, of a

Pale as yt were a pale and defence to the Inner landes. so as now yt is called the English pale, and thereof also is a Palsgraue named, that is an Earle Palentyne others thincke of the lattine Palare, that is to forrage or outrune because those marchers and borderers vse comonlie so to doe. so as to haue a Countye Pallentyne, is in effecte but to haue a privilidge to spoyle thenemyes borders adioyn-inge and surelye so yt is vsed at this daye as a privilidged place of spoyles and stealthes, for the Countie of Typ-perarie which is now the onelye Countye Palatine in Ireland, is by abuse of some bad ones made a receptacle to robb the rest of the Countries about yt, By meanes of whose privilidges none will followe theire stealthes, so as yt beinge scituate in the verie lapp of all the land, is made now a border, which how inconvenient it is lett euerie man iudge: And though that right noble man that is the Lord of that libertie, doe paine him self all that he maye to yeild equall Iustice vnto all, yett can there not but great abuses lurke in so inward and absolute a privilidginge: Consideracion whereof is to be respected carefullie for the next succession: And much like vnto this grante there are also other privilidges granted vnto most of the Corporatyons there that they shall not bee bound to any other gouerment then theire owne, that they shall not be charged with any garrysons, that they shall not be travelled forth of theire owne franchises, that they maye buye and sell with theves and rebells, that all amercymentes and fynes which shalbe ymposed vpon them shall come vnto them selves: All which though at the tyme of there first grante, they were toller-able and perhapps reasonable, yet now are most vn-reasonable & inconvenient: But all these will easelie be cutt of with the superior power of her maiesties pre-

rogatiue, against which her owne grantes are not to bee pleaded nor enforced:

E*udox:* Now trulie I*renius* yee haue mee semes, verie well handled this pointe towchinge inconveniences in the Common lawe, there by yow observed, and yt seameth that yow haue had a myndfull regarde vnto the thinges that maye concerne the good of that realme, And yf yow can aswell goe through with the Statute lawes of that lande, I will thincke yow haue not lost all your tyme there, Therefore I praye yow now take them to you in hand and tell vs what yow thincke to be amisse in them:

I*ren:* The statutes of that realme are not manye, and therefore wee shall the sooner run through them. And yett of those fewe there are sundrie impertinente and vnnecessarie, the which perhapps though at the tyme of makinge of them, were verie needfull, yett now through change of tyme are Cleane antyquated, and altogeather [ydle], As that which forbyddeth any to weare theire beardes all on the Vpper lipp and none vnder the Chine. and that which putteth awaye saffron shirtes and smockes, and that which restrayneth the vsinge of guilte bridles and pettorells, and that which appointed to the recorders and Clarkes of Dubline and drodagh, to take but ijd for the Coppie of a plainte and that which commaundeth bowes and arrowes, and that which maketh that all Irishmen that shall converse amonge the englishe, shalbe taken for spyes and so punished, and that which forbyddeth persons not ameanable to lawe to enter and distreine in the landes in the which they haue title, and manie other the lyke which I could rehearse::

E*udox:* These trulie which yow haue repeated seeme

verie frevolous and fruitelesse: For by the breach of them little damadge or inconvenience can come to the Common Wealth: neyther indeed yf any transgresse them, shall hee seeme worthie of punishment, scarse of blame, savinge but for that they abyde by the names of lawes. But lawes ought to be such as that the kepinge of them should bee greatlie for the behoof of the common weale, and the vyolatinge of them should bee verie haynous and sharplie punishable, But tell vs of some more weightie dislikes in the statutes then these, and that maye bee more behouefull, imparte the reformacion of them:

I*ren:* There is one or twoe statutes which make the wrongfull distreyninge of any mans goodes against the forme of Common lawe to be Fellonye, the which statutes seme surelie to haue bene at first meante for the greate good of that realme, and for restrayninge of a fowle abuse, which then raigned commonlie amongst that people: and yett is not altogeather layde asyde, that when any one was indebted to another, he would first demaunde his debte, and yf he were not paide, he would straight goe and take a distresse of his goodes or Cattles where hee could fynde them to the vallue which he would kepe till hee were satisfied, and this the symple Churle (as they call him) doth comonlye vse to doe, yett throughe ignorance of his misdoinge or evill vse, that hath longe settled amongst them, But this though yt be sure most vnlawfull, yett surelye mee semes to harde to make yt death, since there is noe purpose in the partie to steale the others goodes or to conceale the distresse, but doth yt openlie for the most parte before wytnesses: And againe the same statutes are so slacklye

pende, and besydes the later of them is so vnsensiblye contryved, that yt scarse carrieth any reason in yt, that they are often and verie easelie wrested to the fraude of the subiecte, as yf one goinge to distreine vpon his [owne] lande or tenement where lawfullie he maye, yett if in doinge thereof he transgresse the least pointe of the Common lawe, he straight comitteth felonye. [Or yf one by an other occasion take anie thinge from an-other, as boies vse sometymes to Cappe one an other, the same is streight fellonie], This is a verie harde Lawe.

E*udox:* Neuerthelesse the evill vse of distreyninge another mans goodes you will not denye, but [it] is to be abollished and taken awaye:

I*ren:* Yt is so but not by takinge awaye the subiecte withall for that is to violent a medycine, speciallie, this vse beinge permitted, and made lawfull to some and to other some death, As to most of the Corporate townes, there yt is granted by theire charter that they maye everie man by him self without an offycer (for that were more tollerable) for any debte to distraine the goodes of any Irishe beinge founde within there libertie or but pass-ing through theire Townes. And the first permission of this was for that in those tymes when that grant was made the Irishe were not ameanable to lawe, so as yt was not saiftye for the townes man to goe to him forth to demaunde his debte, nor possible [to] drawe him into lawe, so that hee hadd leue to be his owne balife to ar-reast his said debtors goodes within his owne franchise, The which the Irishe seinge thought yt as lawfull for them to distrayne the Townesmans good in the coun-trye where they founde yt. And so [by] ensample of that grant to townes men, they thought yt lawfull and made

yt an vse to distrene one anothers goodes for small debtes, And to saye truth me thinckes yt hard for everie tryflinge debte of 2 or 3s to be dryven to lawe, which is so farr from them sometimes to be sought, for which me thinckes yt were an heavye ordynance to giue death especiallie to a rude man that is ignorante of lawe, and thincketh a comon vse or grante to other men a lawe for him self:

E*udox:* Yea but the iudge when yt commeth before him to tryall, maye easelie deside this doubte and laye open the intente of the lawe by his better discression:

I*ren:* Yea but yt is dangerous to leaue the sence of a lawe vnto the reason or will of the iudges who are men and maye be miscarried, by effeccions, and manye other meanes But the lawes ought to bee lyke to stonye tables, plaine stedfast and ymmoveable, There is also such another statut or twoe which make Coignye or lyverie to be treason; noe lesse inconveniente then the former beinge as yt is penned how ever the first purpose thereof were expedyente, for thereby now noe man can goe vnto anothers howse for Lodging, nor to his owne Tennantes howse to take victuall by the waye, notwithstandinge that there is noe other meanes for him to haue lodginge or horsemeate nor mans meate, there being noe Inns, nor none otherwise to be bought for monye, but that he is endangered to that statute of Treason, whensoever he shall happen to fall out with his tennant or that his said host list to complaine of grevance, as oftentymes I haue sene them verie maliciouslie doe thorowe the least provocations:

E*udox:* I doe not well knowe: but by ghesse what ye doe meane by these termes of C*oignye* and L*yuerye*, therefore I praye yow explaine them:

Iren: I knowe not whether the wordes be Englishe or Irish but I suppose them rather to be ancient Englishe, for the Irishe men can make noe derivacion or analogie of them, what lyverie is wee by common vse [in England] doe knowe well ynough namelie that yt is allowance of horsemeate, as comonlye they vse the worde in stablinge, as to kepe horses at lyverie, the which worde as I ghesse is deryved of lyveringe or deliueringe forth theire nightlie foode, Soe in greate howses the lyverye is said to be served vpp for all night, that is theire Eveninges allowance of drincke And lyverie is also called the vpper garment which a servingman weareth, so called as I suppose, for that yt was deliuered and taken from him at pleasure: So yt is apparante that by the worde lyverie, is there mente horsmeate, lyke as by *Coigny*, is vnderstoode mans meate But whence the worde is deryved ys verie harde to tell: Some saye of coyne, for that they vsed Comonlie in theire *Coignies*, not onelye to take meate but Coyne also: and that takinge of monye was speciallie meante to be prohibited by that statute: But I thincke rather that this word *Coignye* is deryved of the Irishe, The which is [a] common vse amongst the Irishe Land Lordes to haue a Common spendinge vpon theire tennantes, For all theire tennantes beinge comonlye but Tennauntes at will, they vse to take of them what victuall they liste: For of victualls they were wounte to make small reckoninge, neyther in this was the tennante wronged, for yt was an ordynarie and knowen Custome, and his Lord Comonlye vsed so to Covenante with him, which yf at anye tyme the tennant dislyked he might frelye departe at his pleasure, But now by this statute the [said] Irishe Lord is wronged

for that he is Cutt of from his Customarie servyces, of the which this was one, besydes manye other of the lyke, as Cuddie, Cossherie, *Bonnagh*, Sragh, Sorehin and such others, the which I thincke at firste were Customes brought in by the Englishe vpon the Irishe, the which were never wonte, and yett are loath to yeild any Certaine rente, but onelye such spendinges. For there Comon sayinge, is *Spende me and defende me:*

E*odux:* Surelie I take yt as yow saye, that there in the Irishe Lord, hath wronge since yt was an ancyent Custome and nothinge Contrarie to lawe, for to the willinge there is noe wronge done, And this right well I wote that even here in England there are in manye places as large Customes as that of Coygnie and lyverye. But I suppose by your speach that yt was the first meaning of the statute to forbydd the vyolente taking of vyctualls vpon other mens tennantes, against theire wylls which surelye is a greate outrage, and yett not so greate mee seemes as that yt should be made treason: For consideringe that the nature of treason is concerninge the royall estate or person of the prince or practizinge with his enymies, to the derogacion and danger of his Crowne and dignitye, yt is hardlie wrested to make this treason, But as yow erst said B*etter a mischeif then an inconuenienc:*

I*ren:* Another statute I remember: which havinge bene an ancyent Irish Custome, is now vpon advizment made an Englishe lawe, and that is called the Custome of K*incougish*, which is that everie head of everye septe and euerie cheif of euerie kyndrid or famillie should be [answerable and bounde to bringe forthe euerie one of that kindred or septe vnder him at all times to be iustified when he should be] requierid [or Charged

with anie treason felonie or other heynous Cryme:]

Eudox: Whie surelie this semes a verye necessarie lawe, for Considringe that manye of them be such losells, and scatterlinges, as that they cannot easelye by any sherif Constable Baliffe or other ordynarie offycer bee gotten when they are Challenged, for any such facte, this is a verie good meanes to gett them to be brought in by him, that is the head of the septe or cheif of that howse, wherefore I wounder what Iuste exception yee can make against the same:

Iren: Trewe *Eudoxus* in the pretence of the good of this Statute yee haue nothinge erred for yt seemeth verie expedyente and necessarie: But the hurte which commeth thereby is greater then the good: For whilst everie cheif of a septe standeth so bounde to the lawe, for euerie man that is of his bloude or septe that is vnder him inclusiue euerie one of his septe is put vnder him and he made greate by the comaunding of them all: For yf he maye not commaunde them, then that lawe doth wronge that byndeth him to bringe them forthe to be iustefied, and yf he maye commaund them then he maye comaund them aswell to yll as to good, hereby the Lordes and Captaines of Countryes, the princypalls and heades of septes are made stronger, whom yt should bee a most speciall care in pollycie to weaken and to sett vpp and strengthen dyverse of his vnderlinges against him, which whensoever he shall offer to swarue from duetye, maye bee able to beard him: For yt is verye dangerous to leaue the Commaund of so manye as some septes are, beinge v: or vj thowsand persons, to the will of one man, who maye leade them to what he will as he him self shalbe inclyned

Eudox: In verie deed *Irenius* yt is verie dangerous especiallie seinge the disposition of those people, not alwaies inclynable to the best, And therefore I hould yt noe wysdome to leaue vnto them to much commaund over theire kynred, but rather to withdrawe theire followers from them as much as maye bee, and to gather them vnder the Commaund of Lawe by some better meane, then this Custome of Kincougish the which worde I would bee glad to knowe what yt namely signifieth, for the meaninge thereof, I seme to vnderstand reasonable well:

Iren: It is a word mingled of Englishe and Irishe togeather so as I am partelye ledd to thincke that the Custome thereof was first Englishe and afterwardes [made] Irishe, for such another lawe they had here in England as I remember made by Kinge *Alured*, that everie gentleman should contynewallie bringe forth his kynred and followers to the lawe, So, *kyn:* is Englishe and *Coughish* signifieth affynitie in Irishe:

Eudox: Sythe then that wee haue thus reasonablie handled the inconveniences in the lawes, lett vs now passe vnto your seconde parte, which was as I remember of the abuses of Customes, in which mee seemes ye haue a faire Champyon laide open vnto yow, in which yee maye at large stretch out your discourse, into manye sweete remembrances of antyquities, from whence yt seemeth that the Customes of that nation proceded

Iren: Indeed *Eudoxus* yow saye verie true, for all the Customes of the Irishe which I haue verie often noted and Compared with that I haue redd would minister occasyon of most ample discourse of the first oridginall of them, and the Antiquitie of that people which in

truth I doe thincke to bee more auncyent, then most that I knowe in this end of the world, so as yf it were in the handlinge of some man of sound iudgment and plentifull reading yt would bee most pleasante and profytable, But yt maye bee, wee maye at some other tyme of metinge, take occasion to treate thereof more at large, here onelie yt shall suffice to touch such Customes of the Irishe as seme offensyve and repugnante to the good gouerment of that realme:

E*udox:* Followe then your owne course for I shall the better contente my self, to forbeare my desyre, nowe in hope that yow will as you saye [some other time more] aboundantlye satisfye yt:

I*ren:* Before wee enter into the treatise of theire Customes yt is first needfull to consider from whence they [first] spronge, for from the sondrye mannors of the nations, from whence that people which are nowe called Irishe were derived, some of the Customes which now remaine amongst them haue bene fetcht, and since they haue bene contynewed amongest them: For not of one Nacion was it peopled as yt is, but of soundrie people of different condycions and mannors, But the cheifeste which haue first possessed and Inhabited yt, I suppose to bee Scythians, which at such tyme as the Northerne Nations overflowed all Christendome, came downe to the Sea coast, where enquiring for other Countries abroad and getting intelligence of this Countrie of Irelande fyndinge shippinge convenient, passed over thither and aryved in the North parte thereof which is now called Vlster which first inhabytinge, and afterwardes stretchinge them selues forth into the land as theire nombers increased, named yt all of them

selues *Scuttenland*—which more breifelie is called Scut-
lande or Scotland.

E*udox:* I wounder I*renius* whether yow run so farr astraye, for whilst wee talke of Ireland mee thinkes yow rippe vpp the originall of Scotland, but what is that to this:

I*ren:* Surelie verie much, for Scotland and Ireland are [all] one and the same:

E*udox:* That semeth more strange for wee all knowe righte well, that they are distinguished with a greate sea runninge betwene them, or ells there are twoe Scot-landes

I*ren:* Neverthemore are there twoe Scotlandes but twoe kyndes of Scotes, there were indeed as yee maye gather out of B*uchanan*, the one Irine or Irishe Scotes, thother Albyne Scotes, for those Scotes or Scythians arrived (as I suppose) in the North partes of the Ilande, where some of them afterwardes passed into the next Coast of Albyne now called Scotland which after much trouble they possessed and of them selues named yt Scotland, but in processe of tyme as ys comenlie seene, the denominacion of the parte prevaled in the whole, for the Irishe Scottes puttinge awaye the name of Scotes were Called onelye Irishe, and the Albyn Scotes leavinge the name of Albyn, were called onely Scottes, Therefore yt commeth that of some wryters Ireland is called Scotia *maior*, and that which now is named Scotland, is called Scotia *minor*

E*udox:* I doe now well vnderstand your distinguish-ing of the twoe sortes of Scotes and two Scotlandes, how that this which is now called Ireland was ancyentlie called Irine and afterwardes of some written Scotland,

and that which is now called Scotland was formerlie called Albyne before the Comminge of the Scuttes thither, But what other nations inhabyted thother partes of Ireland:

I*ren:* After this people thus planted in the north or before, (for the Certaintie of tymes in thinges so farr from all knowledge cannot bee iustlie avouched) another nacion Cominge out of Spaine aryved in the west parte of Ireland, and fynding yt waste [or] weakelie inhabited, possessed yt who whither they were natiue Spanyardes or Gaules or Africans or Goathes, or some [other] of those Northerne Nations which did overspread all Christendome, It is ympossible to affyrme onelye some naked coniectures maye bee gathered, but that out of Spaine certainelie they came, that doe all the Irishe Cronicles agree.

E*udox:* Yow doe verie boldlie I*renius* venture vpon the histories of ancient tymes and leane too confydentelie vnto those Irishe Croniclees which are most fabulous and forged, in that out of them, yee dare take in hand, to laye open the originall of a Nation so antique, as that noe monument remayneth of her begynning and inhabyting there speciallie havinge bene alwaies without lettres, but onelye bare tradytions of tymes and remembrances of bardes, which vse to forge and falsifye everye thinge as theye liste to please or displease any man,:

I*ren:* Trewlie I must confesse I doe soe, but yett not so absolutelie, as yee suppose I doe herein relye vpon those bardes or Irishe Cronicles though the Irishe them selues through theire ignorance in matters of learninge and deepe Iudgmente doe most constantlie beleaue and avouch them, But vnto them besydes, I add my owne

readinge and out of them both togeather with comparrison of tymes, lykenes of manners and customes, affinitie of wordes, & names, properties of Natures and vses resemblances of rightes and ceremonies monumentes of Churches and Tombes, and manye other lyke Circumstances I doe gather a likeliehoode of truth not certenlie affirminge, anythinge but by conferringe of tymes, languages monumentes and suchlike, I doe hunte out a probabillitie of thinges which I leaue vnto your iudgment to beleaue or refuise, Neverthelesse there bee some verie aunciente Authors, which make mencion of those thinges, and some moderne, which by comparinge of them with the presente tymes experience and there owne reason, doe open a windowe of greate light vnto the rest that is yett vnseene, as namelie of the oulder: *Cesar Strabo Tacitus Ptolomie Plinnie,* [Solinus,] *Pompeus Mela* & *Berosus* of the latter *Vincentius, Æneas Siluius, Luddus* & *Buckhanan,* of all which I doe giue most Credite vnto Buckhanam [for] that he him self beinge an Irishe Scott, or Pict by nation, and beinge verie excellentelie learned and industrious to seeke oute the truth of these thinges concerninge the originall of his owne people, hath both sett downe the testymonies of the Auncientes trulie, and his owne opynion withall verie reasonablie, though in some thinges he doth somewhat flatter: Besides the Bardes and Irishe Cronicles them selues, though through desyre of pleasinge perhapps too much and ignorance of arte and pure learninge, they haue clouded the truth of those tymes, yett there appearethe amongst them some reliques of the true antiquitie, though disguised, which a well eyde man may happelye discouer and fynde out:

Eudox: How can there bee any truth in them at all since the Auncient nations which first inhabited Ireland were altogeather destitute of lettres much more of learninge, by which they mighte leaue the veritie of thinges written, And those bardes cominge also so manie hundred yeres after could not knowe what was done in former ages, nor deliuer certaintie of anie thinge but what they fayned out of theire owne vnlearned heades:

Iren: Those bardes indeed *Cæsar* writeth, deliuer noe certaine truth of any thinge neyther is there anye certaine hold to bee taken of any Antiquitie which is receyued by tradicion, since all men bee lyers and maye lye when they will but yet for [the] Auncientnes of the written Cronicles of Ireland, giue me leaue to saye somethinge not to iustifie them, but to show that some of them might saye truth, For where yee saye that the Irishe haue alwaies bene without lettres, yee are therein much deceaued, for yt is certaine that Ireland hath had the vse of lettres verie auncyentlie and longe before England:

Eudox: Is yt possible, how comes yt then that they are soe barbarous still and so vnlearned, beinge so old scollers: For learninge as the Poet sayth: *Emollit mores nec sinit esse feros* whence then I praye yow could they haue those lettres::

Iren: It is hard to saye for whether they at there first comminge into the land, or afterwardes by tradinge with other Nacions which had lettres, learned them of them, or deuised them amongest them selues yt is verie doubtfull: but that they had lettres auncientlie, it is nothinge doubtfull, for the Saxons of England are said to haue theire lettres and learning and learned men, from the Irishe,

and that also appeareth by the lykenes of the Carracter, for the Saxons charracter is the same with the Irishe, Now the Scythians neuer as I can read of ould, had lettres amongst them, therefore yt semeth that they had them from the nacion which came out of spaine, for in Spaine there was (as Strabo writeth) lettres auncientlie vsed, whether brought into them by the Phenecians or the Parsians which, (as yt appeareth by him,) had some footinge there, or from Marsiles, which is said to haue bene inhabited by the Greekes, and from them to haue had the Greeke charracter of the which Marsilianes It is said, that the Gaules learned them, first and vsed onelie for the furtherance of there trades and private busynesse for the Gaules (as is stronglie to bee proued by many ancyent and verie athenticall writers) did first inhabite all the sea cost of Spaine even vnto Cales & the mouth of the straightes and peopled also a great parte of Italie which appeareth by sundrye cytties and havens in Spaine, called of them, as Portingallia, *Gallecia, Galdunum,* and also by sondrye nacions therein dwellinge, which yet haue reserued there owne names of the *Gaules:* as *the* R*hegine* P*resamarie* T*amariti* N*erij* and dyverse others. All which Pompeus M*ela:* beinge him self a Spanyard, yet saith to haue discended from the C*olties* of F*rance*, whereby it is to be gathered, that that nation which came out of Spaine into Ireland were antientlie Gaules, and that they brought with them those lettres which they had learned in Spaine, first into Ireland, the which some also saye doe much resemble the old Phenetian Character, beinge likwise distinguished with pricke and accent, as theires ancientlie, but the further enquirye thereof nedeth a place of longer discourse then this our shorte conference::

E*udox:* Surelie yow haue showed a great probabillitie of that which I had thought ympossible to haue bene proued, but that which yow now saye that Ireland should haue bene peopled with the G*aules*, semeth much more strange, for all there Cronicles doe saye that the west and south was possessed and inhabyted of Spanyardes and C*ornelius* T*acitus* also doth stronglie affyrme the same, all which yee must eyther overthrowe and falcefie or renounce your opinion:

I*ren:* Neyther so nor so, for the Irishe Cronicles as I said vnto yow beinge made by vnlearned men, and writinge thinges according to the apparance of the truth which they conceyued doe err in the Cyrcumstances, not in the matter, For all that came out of Spaine (they beinge noe deligente searchers into the differences of the Nations) supposed to be Spanyardes, & so called them, but the ground worke thereof is neuerthelesse (as I said) trewe and certaine howeuer they through ignorance disguise the same, or through theire owne vanitie whilst they would not seme to be ignorant, doe therevpon build and enlarge manye forged histories of theire owne Antiquitie, which they deliuer to fooles and make them beleue them for true, as for example, that first of all one G*athelus* the sonne of C*ecropes*, or A*rgos*, who having married the Kinge of Egipps daughter, thence sayled with her into Spaine and theire inhabyted, Then that of N*emed*, and his fower sonns who Cominge out of Scythia peopled Ireland and Inhabyted yt with his sonnes twoe hundred and fyftye yeres, till he was overcome of the Geauntes dwellinge then in Ireland and at last quite banished and rooted out, After whom twoe hundred yeres the sonns of one Dela beinge Scythians arryved there againe and

possessed the whole land of which the youngest called slaynius in the ende made him self monnarch lastlie of the iiij sones of Milesius kinge of Spaine, which conquered that land from the Scythians and inhabytinge yt with spanyardes called yt of the youngest Heberous, Hibernia All which are in truthe mere fables, and verie Melisian lyes (as the latine proverbe ys) For was there never such a kinge of spaine, called Milesius, nor any such Colonie seated with his sonnes as they faine, that can ever be proued: But yett vnder these tales yee maye in a manner see the truth lurke; For scythians here inhabytinge, they name and doe speake of Spanyardes, whereby appeareth, that both those nacions here inhabyted. But whether verie spanyardes (as the Irishe greatlye effecte) ys noe wayes to be proued:

E*udox:* Whence commeth yt then that the Irish doe so greatlie covet to fetch them selves from the Spanyardes, since the ould Gaules are a more Ancyente, and much more honorable nacion:

I*ren:* Even of a verie desyre of Newfanglenesse and vanytie for beinge, as theye are now accounted the most barborous nacion in Christendome, they to avoyde that reproch would deryve them selues from the Spanyard, whom they now see to bee a verie honorable people, and next bordringe vnto them. But all that is most vaine, for from the Spanyard that now is, [or that people that nowe inhabittes Spayne, they noe waie can prove them selves to discend, neither shoulde it indeed be greatly glorious vnto them; For the Spanierd that nowe is,] is come from as rude and salvage nacions as they, there beinge, as yt maye be gathered by course of ages, and veiwe of theire owne historie (though they therein

laboure, much to ennoble them selues) scarse any dropp of the ould Spannishe bloode lefte in them: For all spaine was first conquered by the Romaines and fylled with Collonies from them, which were still increased and the natiue Spanyard still cutt of: Afterwardes the Carthagynians in all the longe *Punick* warrs havinge spoyled all Spaine, and in the ende subdued yt wholie to them selues, did (as yt is likelie) rote out all that were affected to the Romaines. And lastlie, the Romaines havinge againe recovered that Countrye, and bett out Hannyball did doubtlesse cutt of all that had favoured the Carthagynians so that betwext them both, to and froo: there was scarse a natyve Spanyard lefte but all inhabyted of Romaines. All which tempestes of troubles beinge overblowen, there longe after arose a newe storme more dreadfull then all the former, which overran all Spaine and made an Infynite confusion, of all thinges, That was the comminge downe of the *Gothes*, the Hunes, and *Vandals,* and lastlie all the Nations of Scythia, which like a mountaine fludd did overflowe all Spaine, and quite drownde and washt awaye what ever relickes there were lefte of the landbred people, yea and of all the Romaines too, The which Northerne Nacions, fyndinge the complexion of that soyle, and the vehement heate there farr diffringe from there natures, tooke noe felycitie in the countrie but from thence passed over, and did spread them selues into all countries in Christendome, of all which there is none but hath some mixture and sprincklinge, yf not through peopling of them. And yett after all those the Moores and barbarians breaking over out of *Africa*, did finallie possesse all spaine, or the most parte thereof, and treade

downne vnder theire foule heathnishe feete, what ever little they found there yet standinge, the which though afterward they were beaten out by *Ferdinando* of *Arogon*, and Elizabeth his wyfe, yett they were not so clensed, but that thorowe the marriages which they had made and mixture with the people of the lande duringe theire longe contynewance there, they had lefte noe pure dropp of Spanishe blood, noe nor of Romaine nor Scythan. so that of all nacions vnder heaven I suppose the Spanyard is the most mingled, most vncertaine and most bastardlie wherefore most folishlie, doe the Irishe thincke to ennoble them selues, by wrestinge theire Auncestrye from the Spanyard who is vnhable to deryve him self from any nacion certaine.

Eudox: Yow speake verie sharplie *Irenius* in dishonor of the Spanyarde; whom some other bost to be the onelie braue soldyer vnder skye:

Iren: So surelie he is a verie braue man neyther is that which I speake anye thinge to his derogacion: For in that I said he is a mingled people [it is noe dispraise, For I thincke there is noe nation nowe in Christendome nor muche further but is mingled] and compounded with others: For yt was a singuler prouidence of God, and a most admirable purpose of his wysdome to drawe those Northerne heathen nacions downe into these Christyan partes where they might receyve Christyanitie, and to mingle nations so remote, so myracculouslie to make as yt were one kynred and blood of all people, and each to haue knowledg of him:

Eudox: Neither haue yow sure any more dishonored the Irishe, for yow haue brought them from verie great and auncyent nacions, as any were in the world, how

ever fondlie they affecte the Spanyard: For both the Scythians and the Gaules were twoe as mightie nacions as ever the world brought forth. But is theire any token denominacion or monument of the Gaules yett remayninge in Ireland as theire is of Scythians:

Iren: Yea surelie verie manie: For theire is first in the Irishe languaige manye wordes of Galles remayning and yett dalie vsed in Common speach:

Eudox: Whie, what was the Gallish speach? Is there any parte of yt still vsed amongst any nacion

Iren: The Gallishe speach is the verie Brittishe, the which was generallie vsed here in all Bryttanie before the comminge in of the Saxons, and yett is retayned of the Welchmen the Cornishemen and the Bryttons of Frannce, though tyme workinge alteracion of all thinges and the tradinge and enterdeale with other nacions rounde aboute haue changed and greatlie altered the dyalecte thereof, but yett the oridginall wordes appeare to bee the same, as whoe that list to reade in Cambden or *Buckanam* maye see at large: Besides there bee manye places, as havens hills townes and Castles which yett beare name from the *Galles* of the which Buckanan rehearseth aboue three hundred in Scotland, and I can I thincke recounte neere as many in Ireland: Moreover there bee of the ould Galles certaine nations yett remayninge in Ireland, which detaine the ould denominacions of the Galles, as the *Manapii*, the *Cauci*, the *Venti*, and others, by all which and manye other verye reasonable probabillities, which this shorte course will not suffer to be layde forthe, yt appeareth, that the cheif inhabytantes in Irland, were Galles cominge thyther first from Spaine and afterwardes from beside Tannis

where the Gothes the Hunns and the Getes satt downe, theye all so beinge (as yt is said) of some anciente Galles, and lastlie passing out of Gallia yt self from all the sea-costes of *Belgia* and *Celtica* into all the Southerne costes of Ireland which they possessed and inhabyted, where-vpon yt is at this daye amongst all the Irishe a Comon vse to call any strang inhabytante there amongst them Gald, that is discended from the Gaules:

E*udox:* This is verie likelie, For even so did these gaules ancyentlie possesse and people all the Southerne Costes of our Bryttaine which yett retaine theire ould names, as the B*elga* in Somersetshyre, Wilshire and parte of Hamshire. A*trebatij* in Barkshire, R*egni* in Sus-sex and Surrey with manie others, Now thus farr then I vnderstande your openyon that the Scythians planted in the North partes of Ireland, the Spanyard (for soe wee will call them what ever they were that came from spaine) in the West, the Gaules in the South. So that there now remayneth onelye the east parte towardes Englande, which I would be gladd to vnderstand from whom yee thincke [they were peopled:]

I*ren:* Marie [I thinke] from the Brittons them selues, of which though theire bee lyttle footinge now remayn-inge by reason that the Saxons; afterwardes, and lastlie the Englishe, dryvinge out all the first inhabitantes thereof did possesse and people yt them selues, yett amongst the Tooles the Brins the Cavanaghes and other nacions in Leinster there is some memorie of the bryttons remayninge; As the Tooles of the old Brittishe word are called Toll, that is an hyllye countrye, The Brins of the Brittish word brin, that is wooddye, and the Cavanaghes of Caune, that is stronge, So that in

these three people, the verie denominacion of [the] ould Bryttons doth still remaine, Besydes when any flyeth vnder the succour or protection of any against an enemye, he Cryeth vnto him, Cummericke that is Brytton helpe, for the Brytton is called in his owne languaige Cummeraige, furthermore to proue the same Ireland is by Dyodorus Siculus, and by Strabo called Bryttania, and a parte of great Bryttaine: Fynallie it appeareth by good recorde yett extant, that kinge Arthure and before him Gurgunte, had all that Iland in his alleigeance and subiection. Herevnto I could add manye probabillities of the names of places persons and speches as I did in the former, but they should bee too longe for this place and I reserue them for another: And thus yee haue hard my opynion how all the realme of [Ireland] was first peopled, and by what nacions, After all which the Saxons succedinge did wholie subdue yt vnto them selues, For first Egfryde Kinge of Northumbria did vtterlye wast and subdue yt as appeareth out of Bedas complainte against him, And afterwardes Kinge Edgarr brought yt vnder his obedyence, as appeareth by an ancient recorde in which yt is found written, that he subdued all the Ilandes of the north even vnto Norwaye, and theire kinges did bringe into his subiection::

E*udox:* This rippinge vpp of Auncestryes is verie pleasinge vnto me, and indeed savoreth of good conceite and some readinge withall, I see hereby how profytable travell and experience of forraine nacions is to him that will applye them to good purpose, Neyther indeed would I haue thoughte that any such antiquities could haue bene avouched for the Irishe, that maketh mee the more to longe, to see some other of your obser-

vacions, which yee haue gathred out of that countrye, and haue earste half promized to put forth and sure in this minglinge of nations appeareth, (as yow earst well noted) a wounderfull provydence and purpose of almightie god that stirred vpp the people in the farthest parte of the world, to seeke out these regions, so remote from them, and by that meanes both to restore their decayed habytacions, and to make him self knowne to the heathen, But was there I praye yow noe more generall impeoplinge of that Iland, then first by the Scythians, which yee saye were the scottes, and afterwardes by the Afrycans besydes the Gaules, Bryttons and Saxons:

I*ren:* Yes there was another and that the last and the greatest, which was by the Englishe, when the Earle Strangbowe havinge conquered that land deliuered vpp the same vnto the handes of Henrye the second then Kinge, who sente over thither greate store of gentlemen, and other warlike people amongst whom he distrybuted the lande and setled such a stronge Colonie therein as never since could with all the subtill practizes of the Irishe be rooted out but abyde still a mightie people of so manye as remayne Englishe of them

E*udox:* What is [this] that ye saye of so manye as remaine Englishe of them, whye are not they that were once Englishe, abydinge Englishe still:

I*ren:* Noe for the most parte of them are degenerated and growen almost mere Irishe yea and more malycious to the Englishe then the verye Irishe them selfes

E*udox:* What heare I? and is yt possible that an Englishe man brought vpp naturallie in such sweete civillitie as England, affordes, coulde fynd such lykinge in that barborous rudenes, that he should forgett his owne

nature and forgoe his owne nacion? How maye this bee? or what I praye yow maye bee the cause hereof:

Iren: Surelie nothinge but the first evill ordynance and Institucion of that common wealth: But thereof now is here noe fytte place to speake least by the occasion thereof, offringe matter of a longe discourse wee might bee drawen from this that wee haue in hand, namelye the handlinge of abuses in the Customes of Irelande:

Eudox: In truth *Irenius* ye doe well remember the plott of your first purpose, but yet from that mee semes yee haue much swerued in all this longe discourse of the first inhabytinge of Ireland, for what is that to your purpose?

Irenius: Trewlie verie materiall, for yf yow marked the course of all that speach well yt was to shewe by what meanes the Customes that now are in Ireland beinge some of them in deed verie strange and almost heathynishe, were first brought in, and that was as I said by those nations, from whom that Countrye was first peopled for the dyfference of manners and customes doth followe the difference of nacions and people, The which I haue declared, vnto yow to haue bene three speciall, which seated them selues there, to wytte first the Scythian, then the Gaules and lastlie the Englishe, Notwithstanding that I am not ignorante, that there were sondrie other nacions, which gott footing, in that lande, of the which there yett remayne dyverse great famillies and septes of whom I will also in there proper places make mencion:

Eudox: Yee bringe your self *Iren:* verye well into the waye againe, Notwithstanding that yt semeth that yee

were never out of the waye: But now that yee haue passed through those antiquities which I could haue wished not so soone ended, begine when yee please to declare what Customes and manners haue bene deryved from those nacions to the Irishe, and which of them yee fynde falte withall:

Iren: I will then begine to Counte there Customes in the same order, that I counted there nacions and first with the Scythian, or Scottishe manners of the which there is one vse amongst them to kepe theire Cattell and to lyve them selues the most parte of the yeare in *Bollies*, pasturing vpon the mountaine and waste wilde places, and removinge still to freshe land as they haue depastured the former dayes, the which appeareth plaine to be the manner of the Scythians as yee maye reade in *Olaus Magnus* et Io: Boemus and yett is vsed amongst all the Tartarians and the people aboute the *Caspian* sea, which are naturallye Scythians to lyve in heardes as they call them, beinge the verie same that the Irishe Bollies are, dryvinge theire Cattell contynewallie with them, and fedinge onelie on theire [milke and] white meates:

Eudox: What faulte can ye fynde with this Custome for though yt bee an ould Scythian vse yet it is verye behouefull in this countrie of Ireland where there are greate mountaines and waist desertes, full of grasse, that the same should bee eaten downe and nourrishe manye thowsand of Cattle, for the goode of the whole realme which cannot mee thincke well bee any other waye then by keping those Bollies as there yee haue shewed:

Iren: But by this Custome of Bollyng there growe in the meane tyme manye greate Enormities vnto that

common wealth: For first yf there bee anye outlawes or losse people as they are never without some which lyve vpon stealthes and spoyles they are ever more suckered and finde releif onelye in these bollies beinge vpon the waist places, where ells they should be dryven shortelie to starue, or to come downe to the townes to seeke releif, where by one meanes or another they would soone be caught. Besydes such stealthes of Cattle as they [make, they] bringe comonlye to those Bollies where they are receyved readelie, and the theif harbored from danger of lawe or such offycers as might light vpon him. Moreover the people that liue thus in these Bollies growethereby the more barborous and liue more lycencyouslie then they could in townes, vsinge what meanes they list, and practizing what mischeifes and villanies they will eyther against the gouerment theire generallie by theire combynacions, or against private men, whome they maligne by stealinge theire goodes or murtheringe them selues: For there they thincke them selves half exempted from lawe and obedyence and havinge once tasted freedome doe lyke a steare that hath bene longe out of his yooke, grudge and repyne ever after to come vnder rule againe:

E*udox:* By your speach I*renius* I perceaue more evill come by these bollies, then good, by there grazinge, and therefore yt maye welbe reformed, but that must bee in his dewe course doe yow proceed to the next:

I*ren:* They haue another custome from the Scythians that is the wearinge of mantles and longe glebbes which is a thicke curled bushe of haire hanginge downe over there eyes, and monstrouslie disguisinge them, which are both verie badd and hurtfull:

E*udox:* Doe yee thincke that the mantle commeth from the Scythians? I would surelie thincke otherwise: For by that which I haue redd yt appeareth that most nations in the world auncyentlye vsed the mantle. For the Iewes vsed yt as yee maye reade of Elias mantle of

The Caldees also vsed yt as yee maye read in Dyodorus, The Egyptians lykewise vsed yt as yee maye reade in Herodotus and maye be gathered, by the descryption of B*erenice* in the greeke Comentaries vpon Callymachus, The Greekes also vsed yt ancyentlie as appeareth by venus mantle lyned with starrs though afterwardes they changed the forme thereof into theire Cloakes called Pallia as some of the Irishe also vse, And the Auncyent latines and Romaines also vsed yt as ye maye reade in virgill who was a verie greate Antiquarie, that E*vander* when *Æneas* came to him at his feast, did entertaine and feast him [sittinge] on the ground, and lyinge on mantles, Insomuch as he vseth the verie worde M*antile*, for a mantle, M*antilia humi sternunt*, so that yt seameth that the mantle was a generall habbite to most nacions, and not proper to the S*ythians* onelye as yee suppose.

I*ren:* I cannot denye but auncyentlie it was common to most, and yet sythens disvsed and layd awaye: But in this latter age of the world since the decay of the Romaine empyer, yt was renewed and brought in againe by those Northerne nations, when breakinge out of there colde caues and frozen habytacion into the sweate soyle of Europe, they brought with them theire vsuall weedes, fyt to sheyld the cold and that contynewall frost, to which they had at home bene envred, the which yet they lefte not of, by reason that they were in perpetuall

warrs, with the nations where they hadd invaded, but still removinge from place to place carryed alwaies with them, that weede as theire howse, there bed, and theire garment, and Cominge lastlie into, Ireland, they found there more speciall vse thereof, by reason of the rawe cold clymate from whome yt is nowe growen into that generall vse in which that people now haue yt, Afterward the Afrycans succeding, yet fynding the like necessitie of that garment, Contynewed the lyke vse thereof::

E*udox:* Since then the necessitie thereof is so comodious as yee allege that yt is in steade of howsinge, beddinge, and Clothinge, what reason haue yow then to wyshe, so necessarie a thinge cast of:

I*ren:* Because the Comodytie doth not Countervaile the discomoditie. For the inconveniences which thereby doe aryse, are much more manye, for yt is a fitt howse for an outlawe, a meete bedd for a rebell, and [an] apte cloake for a theif: First the owtlawe beinge for his manye crymes and villanies banished from the Townes and howses of honest men, and wandring in waste places farr from danger of lawe maketh his mantle his howse, and vnder yt covereth him self from the wrathe of heaven, from the offence of the earth, and from the sight of men, when yt rayneth yt is his pentice, when yt bloweth it is his tent, when yt frezeth, yt is his tabernacle, In Sommer he can weare yt loose, in wynter he can wrapp yt close, at all tymes he can vse yt never heavye never cumbersome. Lykewise for a rebell yt is as servyceable: For in his warr that he maketh, (yf at least yt deserue the name of warr) when he still flyeth, from his foe and lurketh in the thycke woodes and streight passages, waytinge for advantages, yt is his bedd, yea and almost all his hows-

hould stuffe: For the wood is his howse against all weathers, and his mantle is his caue to slepe in: Therein he wrappethe his self round and ensconceth him self strongly against the gnates, which in the Countrye doe more annoye the naked rebells, whilst they kepe the woodes and doe more sharpelie wound them then all theire Enemies swordes or speares, which can seldome come nigh them, yea and oftentymes theire mantle serveth them when they are nere dryven, beinge wrapped aboute there lefte arme in steade of a Target for yt is hard to cutt thorowe yt with a sworde, besides yt is light to beare lighte to throwe awaye, and beinge as they then comonlie are naked, it is to them all in all, lastlie for a theif yt is so hansome, as yt maye seme yt was first invented for him: For vnder yt he can clenlie conveye anye fytte pillaige, that cometh handsomelye in his waye, and when he goeth abroad in the night on freebootinge, yt is his best and surest freind: For lyinge as they often doe, twoe or three nightes togeather abroad to watch for there bootye with that they can prattelie shroud them selues vnder a bushe or a banksyde, till they maye convenientlye doe theire errand, And when all is done, he can in his mantle passe thorowe anye towne or companye, beinge close hooded over his heade as he vseth from knowledge of anye to whome he is endangered, Beesides all this he or any man ells that is disposed to mischeif or villanye maye vnder his mantle goe privilie, armed without suspecion of any, carrye his headpeace his skene or pystoll, yf he please to bee alwayes in a reddynesse, Thus necessarie and fyttinge is a mantle for a badd man: And surelie for a badd huswif, yt is noe lesse convenient. For some of them that bee

these wandring weomen, called of them M*onashut*, yt is half a wardrobe: For in Sommer ye shall fynde her arayed comonlye but in her smocke and mantle to bee more readye for her light seruices: In winter and in her travell, yt is her cloke and saifgard and also a coverlett for her lewde exercyse. And when she hath fylled her Vessell, vnder yt shee can hyde both her burthen and her blame, yea and when her bastarde is borne yt serues in steade of all her swadlinge cloutes, [her mantles her Cradles with which others are vainly combered,] And as for all other good women which loue to doe but lyttle worke, how hansome yt is to lye in and sleepe, or to louse them selues in the sunshine, they that haue bene but a while in Ireland can well witnesse Sure I am that yee will thincke yt verie vnfytte for good huswyves to stirr in or to busye her self about her huswyferie in sorte as they should, These bee some of the abuses for which I would thincke yt meete to forbydd all mantells:

E*udox:* O evill mynded man that havinge reckoned vpp soe manye vses of mantles, will yett wishe yt to bee abandoned, Sure I thincke Diogines dishe did neuer serue his master more turnes, notwithstandinge that he made his dishe His Cupp, his measure his waterpott, then a mantle doth an Irisheman, but I see they bee all to badd intentes, and therefore I will ioyne with yow in abollishinge it But what blame laye yow to thee glibb, take heade I praye yow that yow bee not to busie therewith, for feare of your owne blame, seinge our English men take yt vpp in such a generall fashion, to weare theire heare so vnmeasurablie longe, that some of them exceed the longest Irishe glibbes:

I*ren:* I feare not the blame of anye vndeserued mis-

likes, but for the Irishe glibbes I saye that besydes there salvage bruttishnes and [loathlie] fylthynes, which is not to be named, they are fytte maskes as a mantle is for a theif: For whensoever hee hath run him self into that perill of lawe that he will not bee knowen he eyther cutteth of his glibb quite by which he becometh nothinge lyke him self, or pulleth yt so lowe downe over his eyes, that it is verie hard to discerne his thevishe countenance, And therefore fytte to bee trussed vpp with the mantle:

E*udox:* Truelye these three Scythian abuses I hould [most] fytte to bee taken awaye with sharpe pennalties, And sure I wounder how they haue bene kepte thus longe, notwithstandinge so manye good provicions and orders as haue bene deuized, for that people:

I*ren:* The cause thereof shall appeare to yow hereafter. But lett vs now goe forward with oure Scythian customes of [which] the next that I haue to treate of, is the manner of the rasinge theire Ioye in theire Conflictes and at other troblesome [tymes] of vprore, The which is verie naturall S*cithian* as yee maye read in D*iodorus* S*iculus*, and H*eroditus*, discribinge the manner of the S*cithians* and P*erthians*, cominge to giue the charge at theire battells at the which it is said, they came rvnninge with a tyrrible yell and Hubbubbe, as if heaven and earth would haue gone togeather which is the verie Image of the Irishe Hubbubb which theire Keirne vse at theire first encounter: Besides the same Herodotus wryteth that they vsed in theire battailes to call vpon the names of theire Captaines or Generalls and sometimes vpon theire greatest Kinge deceased, as in that Battaile of T*omyris* against C*yrus*, which custome to this daye

manyfestlie appeareth amongst the Irishe: For at theire Ioyninge of battle they lykewise call vpon theire Captaines name or the worde of his Auncestors, As they vnder Oneale crye *Landergabo* that is the bloodye hand which is Oneales badge, they vnder Obrien call Launlaider which is the strong hand And to theire ensample the old Englishe also which theire remayneth haue gotten vpp theire cryes *Scithian* lyke, as *Cromabo* and *Butlerabo*, And herein also lyeth open another verye manyfest proof, that the Irishe ar *Scyths:* or *Scottes*, For in all theire encounters they vse one verie common word, cryinge *Ferragh ferragh* which is a scottishe worde to witt the name of one of the first kinges of Scotland called *Fergus* or *Ferragus*, which fought against the Pickes as yee maye read in *Buckanam*, *de Rebus Scoticis:* But as others writte, yt was longe before, that the name of theire cheif Capten, vnder whom they fought against the Afrycans, the which was then so fortunate vnto them, that ever sythens they haue vsed to call vpon his name in theire Battailes:

Eudox: beleive me this observacion of yours *Irenius* is verie good and delightfull, farr beyonde the blynde Conceyt of some who I remember haue vpon the same worde *Farragh*, haue made a verie blunte coniecture, as namelye Master *Staniburst*, who though he bee the same Countryman borne, that should search more nearelie into the secret of these thinges, yett haue strayed from the truth, all the heavens wyde, (as they saye). for hee therevpon groundeth a verie grosse ymadginacion, that the Irishe should discende from the *Egiptians* which came into that Iland, first vnder the leadinge of *Scota* the daughter of *Pharao*, [whervppon they vse (saithe he) in

all their battalls to call vppon the name of *Pharao*] cryinge *Ferragh Ferragh*, Surelie he shott wyde on the bowe hand, and verie farr from the marke: For I would first knowe of him what ancyente ground of aucthoritie he hath for such a sencelesse fable, and yf he haue anye of the rude Irishe bookes, as yt maye bee he hath yett mee semes a man of his learning should not so lightlie haue bene carryed awaye with ould wyves tailes from approvance of his owne reason: For whether *Scota* be like an *Ægiptian* word, or smacke of anye learninge or iudgment, lett the learned iudge, But his *Scota* rather comes vpon the Greeke *Scotos*, that is darkenes which hath not lett him see the light of the truth:

Irenius: Yow know not *Eudox:*, how well Master *Stannih:* could see in the darke, perhapps he hath owles or Cattes eyes but well I wote he seeth not well the verie light in matters of more weight: But as for *Ferragh*: I haue tould yow my coniecture onelye, and yett thus much I haue more to proue a lykelyhood, that there bee yett at this daye in Ireland manye Irishe men cheifelie in the Northerne partes called by the name of Farragh But lett that now bee, this onelie for this place suffyceth, that yt is a worde vsed in theire Common Hubbubes, the which with all the rest is to be abollished, for that yt discouereth an affectacion of Irishe Captenrie, which in this platforme I endeavor speciallie to beate downe, There bee other sortes of cryes all so vsed amongst the Irishe, which savoure greatlie of *Scithian:* barbarisme, as theire Lamentacions at theire burialls, with disparefull outcryes, and ymoderate waylinges, the which Master *Stanniburst* might also haue vsed, for an Argument to proue them *Ægiptians* [for soe in scripture it is mencion-

ed that the *Ægiptians*] lamented for the death of Iosephe. Others thincke this Custome, to come from the Spanyardes, for that they doe so immeasureablie lykewise bewaile theire deade. But the same is not proper spannishe, but altogeather Heathenish brought in first thither eyther by the *Scythians:* or the *Moores:* which were Afrycans, but longe possessed that Countrie: For yt is the manner of all P*agans*, and I*nfidells*, to bee yntemperate in there waylinges, of theire dead, for that they had noe faith nor hope of salvacion, and this yll custome also is speciallye noted by D*yodorus* S*iculus* to haue bene in the S*cythians*, and is yett amongst the Northerne Scottes

E*udox:* This is sure an evill custome also but yett doth not so much concerne civill reformacion, as abuse in relidgion

I*ren:* I did not rehearse yt as one of the abuses which I thought most worth of reformacion, but havinge made mencion of Irishe cryes, I thought this manner of Cryinge and Howlinge not ympertynent to be noted as vncyvill and S*cithian* like: For by these ould Customes, and other lyke coniecturall Circumstances, the discentes of nacions can onelie be proved, where other monumentes of wrytinge bee not remayninge:

E*udox:* Then I praye yow whensoever in your discourse yow meete with them by the waye doe not shune but boldlie touch them: For besydes theire greate pleasure and delight for theire antyquitie, they bringe also greate profitt and helpe vnto Civillitie:

I*ren:* Then sith yow will haue yt so I will heare take occasion since I latelie spake of theire manner of cryes in ioyninge battaile, to speake also somewhate of the

manner of theire Armes and arraye in Battaile with other customes perhapps worthe the notinge, And first of theire armes and weapons, amongst which theire broade swordes are proper *Scithian:* For such the *Scythes* vsed comonlye as yee maye read, in O*laus magnus* and the same also the ould Scottes vsed as yee maye read in B*uchanam* and in S*olinus* where the pyctures of them are in the same forme expressed: Also theire shorte bowes and little quivers with shorte bearded arrowes, are verie S*cythian* as ye maye read in the same O*laus*, and the same sorte both of bowes quivers & arrowes are at this daye to bee sene comonlie amongst the northerne Irishe, whose scottishe bowes are not past three quarters of a yeard longe with a stringe of wreathed hempe, slacklie bente and whose arrowes are not aboue half an elne longe typped with steale heades made like common broad arrowes heades, but much more sharpe and slender, that they enter into an Armed man or horse most crewellie, notwithstandinge that they are shott forth weakelie, Moreover theire longe broade sheildes, made but of wicker roddes which are comonlie vsed amongst thee said Northerne Irishe, but specially of the Scottes, are brought from the Scythians as yee maye reade in O*laus magnus* S*olinus* and others Likewise theire goinge to battayle without Armour on theire bodies or heades, but trusting onelie to the thicknes of theire glibbs, the which they saye will sometymes beare of a good strooke, ys meere salvage and Scythian, as yee maye see in the said Images of the ould Scythes, or scottes sett forth by H*erodianus* and others besides theire confused kynde of march in heapes without any order or arraye, theire Clashinge of swordes togeather, theire

feirce rvnninge vpon theire Enemies, and theire manner of feighte, resembleth altogeather that which is redd in all histories to haue bene vsed of the Scythians by which yt maye bee yt maye almost infallablie be gathered togeather with other circumstances that the Irishe are verie Scotes or Scythes oridginallie though sythence intermingled with many other nacions repayringe and Ioyninge vnto them. And to these I maye also add another verie stronge coniecture which cometh to my mynde, that I haue often observed there amongst them, that is, certaine relidgious ceremonies which are verie superstitiouslie yet vsed amongst them, the which are also wrytten by sundrie authors to haue bene obserued amongst the Scythians by which yt maye verie vehementlie bee presumed that the nacions were auncyentlie all one, For Plutarch as I remember in his treatise of H*omere*, endeavoringe to search out the truth, what Countryman Homere was, proveth yt most stronglie as he thincketh, that he was an Æolian borne, for that in discribinge of a sacrafice of the Greekes, he omitted the [burning of the Chynebone] called [ὀσφύς] the which with all the other grecians, saue onelie the *Æolians* doe vse to burne in theire sacryfice, Also for that he maketh the entralls to be rosted on fyve spites The which was the proper manner of the *Æolians*, whoe onelie of all the nations and Countries of Grecia vsed to sacrifice in that sorte, whereas all the rest of the Greekes vsed to rost them vpon three spites, by which he inferreth necessarelie that homere was an *Æolian*, And by the same reason may I as reasonablie conclude, that the Irishe are discended from the Scithians, for that they vse even to this daye, some of the same Ceremonies,

which the Scythians ancientlie vsed, as for example yee maye reade in [*Lucian*] in that sweete Dialogue which is entitled *Toxaris*, or of frendshipp that the common oath of the Scythians, was by the sworde and by the fyer, for that they accounted, those twoe two speciall devine powres, which should worke vengance on periurors, So doe the Irishe at this daye when they goe to anye battaile, saye certaine prayers or charmes to theire swordes makeinge a Crosse therewith vpon the Earth, and thrusting the pointe of theire blades into the ground, thincking thereby to haue the better successe in feight, Also they vse to sweare commonlye by theire swordes, likewise at the kyndlinge of [the fyre and lightinge of] Candles they saye certaine prayers, and vse some other superstitious rightes, which showe that they honor the fyer and the lighte, for all those Northerne nacions having bene vsed to bee anoyed with much colde and darkenesse are wonte therefore to haue the fyer and the sonne in greate veneracion, like as contrariwise, the *Moores* and Egiptians which are much offended and greved with much extreame heate of the Sune, doe everie morninge when the same ryseth fall to cursing and banninge of him, as theire plague and cheif scourge, Also the Scythians vsed when they would bynde anye solemne vowe, or Combynacion, to drincke a bowle of blood, togeather vowinge thereby to spende theire last bloode in that quarrell And even so doe the wild scottes, as ye maye reade in Buckhanam and some of the Northerne Irish likewise, as yee maye also reade in the same booke, in the tale of *Arsacomas* that yt was the manner of the Scythians when anye one of them was heavelie wronged and would assemble

vnto him anye forces of people to Ioyne with him in his revenge to sytte in some publique place for certaine dayes vpon an oxehyde to which there would resorte all such persons as being disposed to take armes would enter into his paye or ioyne with him in his quarrell, and the same yee maye likewise reade to haue bene the ancient manner of the wilde scottes which are indeed the verie naturall Irishe: Moreover the Scythians vsed to sweare by there kinges hande as Olaus sheweth, And so doe the Irishe vse now to sweare by there lordes hand, and to forsweare yt, hold yt more Cryminall then to sweare by god, Also the scythians said that they were once euerie yere turned into wolues, and so yt is written of the Irishe though Master *Cambden*, in a better sence doe suppose yt was [a] deseaze, called *Licanthropia*, so named of the wolf and yet some of the Irishe doe vse to make the wolf theire gossipp: The *Scithians* also vsed to seeth the fleshe in the hyde, and so doe the north Irishe, yet the *Scithians* likewise vsed to boyle the bloode of the beast lyvinge, and to make meate thereof, and so doe the Irishe still in the north, manye such customes I could recounte vnto yow as of theire ould manner of marryinge of burying of dancinge, of singinge, of feastinge of cursinge, though Christyans haue wyped out the most parte of them, by resemblance, whereof yt might plainelie appeare, to yow that the nacions are the same, but that by the reckoninge of these fewe which I haue tould vnto yow, I fynde my speache drawen oute to a greater lengthe, then I purposed: Thus much onelie for this tyme, I hope shall suffise yow to thincke that the Irishe are auncyentlie deduced from the scythians:

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E*udox:* Surelie I*renius* I haue in these fewe wordes heard that from yow which I would haue thought had bene ympossible to haue bene spoken of tymes so remote and Customes so auncyent, with delight whereof, I was all that while as yt were entranced and carried [soe] farr from my self, as that I am now right sorye, that yee ended so soone, But I marvile much how yt commeth to passe, that in so longe Contynewance of tyme and manye ages come betwene yett anye Iott of those ould Rytes and superstitious Customes should remaine amongst them:

I*ren:* It is noe cause of wounder at all, for yt is the manner of all barborous nacions to be verie superstitious and deligent observers of ould Customes and antiquities which they receaue by contynewall tradicion, from theire parentes, by recordinge of theire bardes and Cronicles in theire songes and by dalie vse and ensample of theire elders:

E*udox:* But haue yow I praye yow obserued any such Customes amongst them brought likewise from the Spanyardes or Gaules, as those from the *Scithians*? that maye sure bee verie materiall to your first purpose.

I*ren:* Some perhapps I haue, and whoe that will by this occasion more deligentlye marke and compare theire Customes, shall fynde manye more, But theire are fewer I thincke remayninge of the Gaules or Spanyardes, then of the *Scithians*, By reason that the partes which they possessed lyinge vpon the Coast of the westerne and southerne sea, were sythens contynewallie vysited with strangers and forreyne people repayringe thither for trafficke, and for fishinge which is verie plentifull vpon those Costes; for the trade and enter-

deale of seacoste nacions one with another worketh more civiltie, and good fashions in them, all sea men being naturally desirous of new fashions, then amongst the Inlande dwellers which are seldome seene of Forreyners, yett some of such as I haue noted I will recounte vnto yow, And first I will for the better Credite of the rest, shewe yow one out of theire statutes amongst which yt is enacted that noe man shall weare, his beard onelie on the vpper lipp like mustchachios, shavinge all the rest of his chine: And this was the auncient manner of the Spanyardes as yett it is of all the *mahometans*, to cutt all theire beardes close, saue onelie [their] muschachose which they were longe, and the cause of this vse was for that they beinge breed in a hote Countrie, found much haire on theire faces and other partes to be noyos vnto them [For] which cause they did cutt yt most away, lyke as contrarelie all other nacions brought vpp in Cold countries, doe vse to nourishe theire hare to kepe them the warmer, which was the cause that the *Scithians* and Scottes weare glibbes, as I shewed yow to kepe theire heades warme, and longe beardes to defende theire faces from cold, From them also I thincke came saffron shirtes and smockes, which was devized by them in those Hotte Countries, where saffron is verie comon and ryfe, for avoydinge of that evill which commeth [by] much swetinge, and longe wearinge of lynnen. Also the weomen amongst the ould Spanyardes had the charge of all hushold affaires both [at] home and abroad (as *Boemius* wryteth) though now these Spanyardes vse yt quite otherwise, and so haue the Irishe weomen the trust and Care of all thinges, both at home and in the feyldes, Likewise

rounde leather Targettes is the Spannishe ſashion who vsed yt ſor the most parte painted, which in Ireland they vse also in manye places coulored, after theire rude ſashion: Moreover theire manner of theire weomens rydinge on the wronge syde of the horse I meane with there ſaces towarde the right syde, as the Irishe vse is, as they saye ould Spannish and as some saye *Africane*, For amongst them the weomen (they saye) vse [soe] to ryde acrosse, Also the deepe smocke sleve hanginge to the ground which the Irishe weomen vse, (they saye) was ould Spannishe and is vsed yett in Barbarie: and yett that should seeme rather to bee an ould Inglishe ſashion: For in Armorie the ſashon of the *Manche* which is gyven in Armes by manye, beinge indeed, nothinge ells but a sleve, is ſashioned much like to that sleve, And that knightes in Auncient tymes vsed to weare theire Mistresses or loves sleve vpon theire armes as appeareth by that is written of Sir Lancelote that hee ware the sleve of the ſayre made of Asteroth in a Turney whereat Quene G*uenouer* was much displeased

E*udox:* Your conceipt is verie good [and] well ſyt-tinge ſor thinges so ſarr ſrom Certaintie of knowledge and learninge onelye vpon lykelihoodes and coniect-ures: But have yow any Customes remayninge ſrom the Gaules or Bryttons:

I*ren:* I haue obserued a ſewe of eyther, and whoe will better search into them, maye ſynde more: And first the proſession of theire Bardes was (as C*esar* wryteth) vsuall amongst the gaules, and the same was also comon amongst the Bryttons, and is not yett altogeather leſte of, by the walshe which are theire posteritie: For all the ſashions of the [Gaules and] Brittons, as he testeſieth

were much lyke, The longe deartes came also from the Gaules as yee maye read in the same *Cesar*, and in I*ohn* B*oemus*, [Likewise the said B*oemus*] wryteth that the Gaules vsed swordes a handfull broad, and so doe the Irishe now, Also that they vsed longe wicker sheildes in battell that should cover theire whole bodies, and so doe the Northerne Irishe. But because I haue not seene such fashioned targetes vsed in the southerne partes, but onelye amongst those Northerne people and Irish Scottes, I doe thincke that they were brought in rather by the Scythians, then by the Gaules, Also the Gaules vsed to drincke theire enemies bloode and to painte them selues therewith, So also theye write that the ould Irishe were wounte, and so haue I sene some of the Irishe doe but not theire Enemies but frindes bloode, as namelie at the execution of a notable tratour at Lymbricke called Murrogh Obrien, I sawe an old woman which was his Foster mother tooke vpp his heade whilst he was quartered and sucked vpp all the blood running there out sayinge that the earth was not worthie to drincke yt, and therewith also steeped her face and brest and tare her haire cryinge and shriking out most tirriblie.

E*udox:* Yee haue verye well ronne through such Customes as the Irishe have deryved from the first ould nacions which inhabyted that lande namelye the Scythians, the Spanyardes the Gaules the Britons, It nowe remayneth that yow take in hande the Customes of the ould Englishe which are amongst the Irishe of which I doe not thincke that yee shall haue much to fynde faulte with any considringe that by the Englishe most of the ould badd Irishe Customes were abollish-

ed, and more ciuill fashions brought vpp in theire steade:

Iren: Yow thincke otherwise *Eudox:* then I doe, for the chefest abuses which are now in that realme, are growne from the Englishe, and the Englishe that were are now much more lawlesse and lycencious, then the verie wilde Irishe: so that as much care as was then by them had to reforme the Irishe, so much and more must now bee vsed to reforme them so much tyme doth alter the manners of men:

Eudox: That seemeth verie strange which yow saye that men should so much degenerate from theire first natures as to growe wilde

Iren: So much can libertie and ill example doe:

Eudox: What libertie had the Englishe there, more then they had here at home? were not the lawes planted amongst them at the first, and had they not governors to Curbe and kepe them still in awe and obedyence

Iren: They had, but yt was for the most parte such as did more hurte then good: For they had governors for the most parte of them selues, and comonlie out of the twoe Families of the *Geraldines*, and the Butlers, both adversaries and corivalls on against the other, who though for the most parte they were but deputies vnder some of the kinges of Englandes sonnes bretheren or other nere kynsmen who were the kinges Livetennantes, yet they swayed so much as they hadd all the rule and the others but the tytle, Of which Butlers and Geraldines, albeyt I must confesse there were verie braue and worthie men, as also of other the Peers of that realme, made Lord Deputies, and Lordes Iustices [at sondrye tymes yet thorowe greatnes of their late Con-

questes] and signiories they grewe insolent, and bente, both that regall aucthoritie and also theire private powers one against another, to the vtter subvertion of them selues and strengthninge of the Irishe againe, This yee maye reade plainelie discouered by a letter written from the Cittizens of Corke out of Ireland to the Earle of Shrusburie then in England and remayninge yett vpon recorde both in the Tower of England, and also amongst the Chronicles of Ireland, [wherin it is by them Complained that the Englishe Lordes and gentlemen whoe then hadd great possessions in Ireland] began thorowe pryde and insolencie to make private warrs one against another, and when either parte was weake they would wage and drawe in the Irishe to take theire partie, by which meanes they both greatlye encurraged and enhabled the Irishe, which till that tyme had bene shutt vpp within the Mountaine of Slewlougher, and weakened and disabled them selues in so much that there revenewes were wounderfullie impared, and some of them which are theire reckoned to have bene able to haue spente xij or xiiij hundred poundes per Annum of ould rent that I maye saye noe more besydes theire commodities of Creekes and havens, were now scarse able to dispend the thirde parte, from which disorder and through other huge Calamities which haue come vpon them thereby they are now growne to be almost as lewde as the Irishe, I meane of such Englishe as were planted above towardes the west, for the Englishe pale hath preserved yt self throughe nearenesse of theire state in reasonable Civillitie, but the rest which dwell aboue in Connagh and Mounster, which is the swetest soyle of Ireland, and

some in Leinster and Vlster ar degenerate and growen to bee as verie Patchockes as the wilde Irishe, yea and some of them haue quite shaken of theire Englishe names, and putt on Irishe, that they might bee alto-geather Irishe:

E*udox:* Is it possible that any should so farr growe out of frame that they should in so shorte space quite forgett theire Countrie and theire owne names, that is a most dangerous L*ethargie*, much worse then that of Messila C*arvinas*, who beinge a most learned man through sickenes forgott his owne name, but can you counte vs anye of this kynde:

I*ren:* I can not speake but by reporte of the Irishe them selues: who reporte that the Macmaghons in the north were auncientlie Englishe, to witt, discended from the fitz Vrsulas which was a noble familie in England, and that the same appeareth by the signify-cation of theire Irishe names: Lykewise that the Mac-swines now in Vlster were auncyentelie of the Veres of England, but that they them selues for hatred of the Englishe so disguised theire names:

E*udox:* could they ever conceyve any such develishe dislike of theire owne naturall Countrie, as that they would bee ashamed of her name, and bite of her dugge from which they sucked lyfe,

I*ren:* I wote well theire should be none but proude hartes doe oftentymes lyke wanton Coltes kicke at theire mothers, as wee reade A*lcibiades* and T*hamistocles* did, who beinge bannished out of A*thens* fledd vnto the kinge of A*sia*, and theire stirred him vpp to warr against theire Countrie, in which warrs they them selues were Cheifetaines, so they saie did these Mac-

swynes and Mackmahons, or rather Veres and Fitz Vrsulaies, for private dispite turne them selues against England, for at such tyme as *Robart Verd* E of Oxford was in the Barrons warrs against kinge Richard the second, through the mallice of the Peeres bannished the Realme and proscribed, he with his kynsman fitz Vrsulie, fled into Ireland, where beinge prosecuted, and afterwardes in England put to death his kinsmen there remayninge behinde in Ireland, rebelled and conspireing with the Irishe did quite cast of theire Englishe names and alleigeance, since which tyme they have ever so [remayned and have still sithens bene Counted mere Irishe, the verye like is] reported of the Macswines macMahons and Mackshehaies of Mounster, how they lykewise were ancientlie Englishe, and olde followers to the Earle of Desmond, vntill the raigne of Edward the iiijth at which tyme the Earle of desmonde that then was called, Thomas, beinge through false subbornacion as they saye of the Quene for some offence, by her against him conceyved, brought to his death at Tradagh most vniustlie, notwithstandinge that hee was a verie good and sound subiect [to] the kinge, therevpon all his kinsmen of the Geraldines which then was a mightie familie in Mounster, in revenge of that huge wronge, rose into Armes against the kinge and vtterlie renounced and forswore all obedyence to the Crowne of England, to whom the said Macswynes *Mackshehies* and *Macmahons* then servantes and followers, did the like and haue sythence ever so contynewed, And with them they saye all the people of Mounster wente and manye other of them which were mere Englishe, thenceforth Ioyned with the Irishe

[againste the kinge and termed them selues verie Irishe,] takinge on them Irishe habites and customes which could never since bee cleane wyped awaye but the Contagion thereof hath remayned still amongst theire posterities, Of which sorte they saye bee most of the Surnames which end in, an as *Heenan Shinan Mangan* &c: the which now accounte them selues naturall Irishe, Other greate howses there bee of the old Eng-lishe, in Ireland, which through lycentious convers-inge with the Irishe, or marryinge and fosteringe with them, or lack of meete Nurture, or other such vnhappie occasions have degendred from theire antient dignities and are now growen as Irishe as Ohanlans breach, (as the proverbe theire is) of which sorte there are twoe most pittefull Ensamples aboue the rest, to wite the Lord Bremingham, who beinge the most ancyent Barron I thincke in Englande, is now waxen the most salvage Irishe naminge him self Irishe, like Maccorish, and the other is the great Mortymer, who forgettinge how great he was once in England, or English at all is now become the most barborous of them all, and is called *Macnemarra*. and not much better then he is the ould Lord *Courcie*, who havinge lewdlie wasted all the landes and signories that he had and aliened them vnto the Irishe is him self, also now growne quite Irishe: :

E*udox:* In truth this which yow tell is a most shame-full hearinge and to be reformed with most sharpe Cen-sures in so greate personages to the terror of the meaner: For where the Lords and cheif men wax so barborous and basterdlike, what shalbe hoped of the peasantes and base people; And hereby sure yow haue made a fayre [waye] vnto your self, to laye open the abuses of

theire evill customes which yee haue nowe next to declare, The which noe doubt but are verie badd and barborous beinge borrowed from the Irishe as There apparrell, theire language theire ryding and manie other the like:

I*ren:* Yee cannot but thincke them sure to bee verie brute and vncivill for were they at the best, that they were of old, when they were brought in they should in so longe an alteracion of tyme seme verie strange and vncouth: for yt is to bee thoughte that the vse of all England was in the raigne of Henrie the second, when Ireland was first planted with Englishe verie rude and barborous, so as yf the same should bee now vsed in England by any it would seme worthie of sharpe correction, and of newe lawes for reformacion but yt is but even the other daye, since England grewe Civill: Therefore in Countinge the evill Customes of the Englishe, there I will [not] have regarde whether the begynninge thereof were Englishe or Irishe, but will have respecte onelie to the inconvenience thereof, and first I haue to fynde faulte with the abuse of language, that is for the speakinge of Irishe, amongst the Englishe, which as yt [is] vnnaturall that any people should loue anothers language more then theire owne, so ys yt verie inconvenient and the cause of manye other evills: :

E*udox:* It semethe strange to me that the Englishe should take more deleight to speake that language then there owne, whereas they should, (mee thinckes) rather take scorne to acquainte theire tonges thereto for yt hath bene ever the vse of the conqueror to dispise the language of the conquered, and to force him by all meanes to learne his, So did the Romaines alwayes vse,

insomuch that theire is almost noe nacion in the world, but is sprinckled with theire language, It were good therefore, (me thinckes) to search out the oridginall cause, of this evill, for the same beinge discovered a redresse thereof wilbe the more easielie provyded: for I thincke yt were strange that the Englishe beinge so manye and the Irishe so fewe, as they then were left, the fewer should drawe the more vnto their vse: :

I*ren:* I suppose that the cheif cause of bringinge in the Irishe language amongst them was speciallie theire fosteringe and marryinge with the Irishe which are twoe most dangerous infeccions, for first the child that sucketh the milke of the nurse must of necessitie learne his first speach of her, the which beinge the first that is envred to his tonge, is [ever] after most pleasinge vnto him insomuch as though he afterwardes bee taught Englishe, yett the smacke of the first will alwayes abyde with him and not onelie of the speach, but of the manners and Condycions: for besydes the yonge children bee lyke Apes, which will affecte and ymitate what they see done before them speciallie by theyre nurses, whom they loue so well, they moreover drawe into them selues togeather with theire sucke, even the nature and disposition of theire nurses, for the mind followeth much the temperature of the bodye: and also the wordes are the Image of the mynde, so as they proceding from the mynde, the mynde must bee needes effected with the wordes: So that the speach beinge Irish, the harte must needes bee Irishe, for out of the aboundance of the heart the tonge speaketh. The next is the marriinge with the Irishe which how dangerous a thing yt is in all Comon wealthes appeareth to euerie symplest sence,

and though some great ones haue vsed such matches with theire vassalls, and haue of them neverthelesse raised worthie yssue, as *Telamon* did with *Tocmissa Alexander* the greate with *Roxane* and *Iulius Cesar* with Cleopatrie, yet the example is so perillous as yt is not to bee adventured, for in steade of those fewe good, I could count vnto them infynite manye evill, and indeed how can such matchinge but bringe forth an evill race, seinge that comonlye the child taketh most of his nature of the mother, besydes speach manners inclynacion, which are for the most parte agreable to the Condycions of theire mothers, for by them they are first framed and fashioned, so as they receaue any thinge from them, they will hardlie ever after forgoe: therefore are these ij evill customes, of fosteringe and marryinge with the Irishe, most carefullie to bee restrayned, for of them twoe the thirde that is the evill custome of language, which I spake of cheyflie procedeth:

Eudox: But are there not lawes alreadye appointed for avoydinge of this evill:

Iren: Yes I thincke there bee, but as good neuer a whit as never the better, for what doe statutes availe without pennalties, or lawes without charge of execution, for so there is another like lawe enacted against wearinge of Irishe apparrell, but neverthemore it is obserued by any or executed by them that haue the charge for they in theire private discressions thincke yt not fytt to bee forced vpon the poore wretches of that Countrye, which are not worth the price of Englishe apparrell, nor expedyent to be practised against the abler sorte, by reason that the [bare] countrye (saye they) doe yeild noe better and were there better to be

had, yett these were fytter to be vsed as namelie the mantle in travelinge, because there bee noe Inns where meate beddinge might bee hadd, so that his mantle serues him then for a bedd, The leather quilted Iack in Iorneyinge and in Campinge, for that yt is fyttest to bee vnder his shirte of male, for any occasion of suddane service, as theire happen manye, and to cover his thine bretch on horsbacke, The greate lynnen rowle which the wemen weare to kepe theire heades warme, after cuttinge theire haire which they vse in any sicknesse, Besydes theire thicke foulded lynnen shirtes, theire longe sleved smockes, theire half sleved coates theire sylken fyllites and all the rest, They will deuise some coullor, for eyther of necessitie, or of antyquitie or of comelynesse:

E*udox:* But what coullor soever they alledge me thinckes yt not expedyent that the execution of a lawe once ordayned should bee lefte to the discression of the offycer, but that without parciallitie or regarde yt should bee fulfilled, aswell on Englishe as Irishe:

I*ren:* But they thincke this precysenes in reformacion of apparrell, not to bee so materiall or greatlie pertinent

E*udox:* Yes surelie but yt is for mens apparrell is commonlie made accordinge to theire Condycions, and theire condycions are oftentymes governed by theire garmentes, for the person that is gowned, is by his gowne put in mynde of gravitye, and also restrayned from lightnes by the verie vnaptnes of his weede, therefore yt is written by A*ristotle*, then when C*yrus* had overcome the L*ydians* that were a warlike nacion, [and] devised to bringe them to a more peaceable lyfe, he changed theire apparrell and musicke, and insteade of

theire shorte warlike Coates, clothed them in longe garmentes like wyves, and in steade of theire warlike musicke, appointed to them certaine lascivyous layes and loose gigges, by which in shorte space theire myndes were [soe] mollyfied, and abated that they forgott theire former feircenes and became most tender, and effeminate, whereby yt appeareth, that theire is not a little in the garment to the fashoninge of the minde and condycions, but bee these which yee have discribed the fashions of the Irishe weedes?

Iren: Noe all these which I haue rehearsed to yow bee not Irishe garmentes, but Englishe: for the quilted leather Iacke is ould Englishe, for yt was the proper weede of the horsman as yee maye read in *Chawcer*, where he discribeth Sir *Thopas* apparrell and armour, when he wente to feight against the Geant in his robe of Checklatoun which *Checklaton* is that kynde of gylden leather, with which theye vse to Imbroader theire Irishe Iackes and theire likewise by all that discription, yee maye see the verie fashion and manner of the Irishe horsemen most liuelie sett out in his longe hose, his [rydinge] shoes of Costlie Cordwaine, his hacqueton and his haberion with all the rest therevnto belonginge:

Eudox: I surelie thought that that manner had bene kyndelie Irishe, for yt is farr differinge from that wee haue now, as also all the furniture of his horse, his stronge brase bitt, his slydinge raynes, his shanke pillyon without stirrops his manner of mounting his fashion of rydinge, his charginge of [his] speare aloft aboue hand, the forme of his speare:

Iren: Noe sure they be natiue Englishe and brought

in by the Englishe men, first into Ireland, neither is the same yett counted an vncomelie manner of rydinge, for I haue hearde some greate warryers saye, that in all the servyces which they had seene abroade in forrayne Countries, they never sawe a more comelie horsman, then the Irishe man, nor that commeth on more braue-lie in his Charge, Neither is his manner of mountinge vnsemelie thoughe he lacke styrropps, but more readye then with styrrops, for in his gettinge vpp his horse is still goinge whereby he gayneth waye, and therefore the stirropp was called soe in scorne as yt were a stare to gett vpp, beinge derived out of the ould Englishe worde, S*ty*, which is to mount

E*udox:* It semeth then that yow fynde noe faulte with this manner of rydinge, whye then would yow haue the gylded Iacke layde awaye:

I*ren:* I would not haue that laide awaye, but the abuse thereof to bee putt awaye: for beinge vsed to the ende that yt was framed, that is to bee worne in warr vnder a shirte of male yt is allowable, as also the shirte of maile and all his other furniture, but to bee worne dalie at home and in townes and Civill places, yt is a rude habite and most vncomelie seeminge like a players painted coate:

E*udox:* But it is worne they saye [likewise] of Irishe footemen, how doe yow allowe of that, for I should thincke yt were vnseemelie:

I*ren:* Noe not as yt is vsed in warr for yt is then worne likewise of a footeman [vnder a shirte of male the which footeman] they call a *Galloglasse* the which name doth discouer him to be also auncyente Englishe, [for *Gallogla* signifies an Englishe] servitor or yeoman, And

he beinge so armed in a longe shyrte of mayle downe to the calf of the legge with a longe broade axe in his hande, was then *pedes grauis armaturæ*, and was in steade of the armed footeman that now weareth a Corselett, then before the Corselet were vsed or almost invented:

E*udox:* Then him belike yow also allowe in your streight reformacion of old Customes:

I*ren:* Both him and the Kearne also (whom onelye I tooke to be the proper Irishe souldyer) can I allow, so that they vse that habyte and Custome of theirs in the warrs onelye, when they are ledd forthe to the service of theire Prince, and not vsuall at home, and in Civill places, and besydes doe laye asyde the evill wylde vses, which the *Gallogbglasse* and K*erne* doe vse in theire common trade of lyfe: :

E*udox:* What bee those:

I*ren:* Marrie those bee the most loathlie and barborous Condycions of anye people I thincke vnder heaven, for from the tyme that they enter into that course, they doe vse all the beastelye behavyour that maye bee, to oppresse all men, they spoyle aswell the subiecte as the Enemye, theye steale, they are Crewell and bloodye, full of revenge, and delight in deadlie execution, lycensius swearers and blasphemers common ravishers of weomen and murderers of children

E*udox:* Those bee most villanouse Condycions, I marvaile then that ever they bee vsed or imployed, or almost suffred to lyve, what good can there bee then in them:

I*ren:* Yet sure they are verie valyante and hardye for the most parte greate endurors of could, labour hunger and all hardnesse, verie actiue, and stronge of hand,

verye swifte of foote, verie vigillante and circumspecte in theire enterprises, verie presente in perills, verie greate scorners of death:

E*udox* Surelie by this that yee saye yt seemes the Irish man is a verie braue souldyer,

I*ren:* Yea trulie even in that rude kynde of service, hee beareth him self verie courragiouslie, but when hee cometh to experience of service abroade, and is put to a peece or a pyke, he maketh as worthie a souldyer as any nacion he meteth with, but lett vs I praye yow turne againe to our discourse of evill Customes amongst the Irishe:

E*udox:* Me semes all this which yow speake of, concerneth the Customes, amongst the Irishe, verie materiallie, for theire vses in warr are of noe small importance to be considered, aswell to reforme those which are evill, as to Confirme and contynewe those which are goode, but followe yow your owne course, and shewe what other theire Customes yow haue to dislike of:

I*ren:* There is amongst the Irishe a Certaine kynde of people called the bardes, which are to them in steade of Poetes, whose profession is to sett forth the prayses and disprayses of men, in theire Poems or rymes the which are had in so high regard and estymacion amongst them, that none dare displease them, for feare to rvn into reproch, through theire offence and to bee made infamous in the mouthes of all men, for theire vearses are taken vpp with a generall applause, and vsuallie sounge at all feastes and metinges, by certaine other persons whose proper function that is, which also receyve for the same greate rewardes, and reputacion besides:

E*udox:* Doe you blame this in them, which I would

otherwise haue thought to haue bene worthie of good accounte, and rather to haue bene maintayned and augmented, amongst them, then to haue bene disliked, for I haue redd that in all ages, Poetes haue bene had in speciall reputacion, and that mee semes not without greate cause, for besides theire sweete inventions and most wittye layes, they are alwaies vsed to sett forth the [prayses of the] good and vertuous, and to beate downe and disgrace the badd and visious, so that manye braue yonge myndes haue often tymes, thorough the hearinge, the praises and famous *Eulogies* of worthie men songe and reported vnto them, bene stirred vpp, to affect like commondacions, and so to striue vnto the like desertes, So they saye that the *Lacedemonians* were more enclyned to desyre of honor with the excellente verses of the Poete *Tyrteus*, then with all the exhortacions of theire Captaines, or aucthoritie of theire rulers and magistrates:

Iren: It is most trewe that such Poetes as in theire wrytinge, doe laboure to better the manners, and through the sweete baite of theire numbers to steale into the yonge spirites a desire of honour and vertue [are wourthie] to be had in greate respect: But these Irishe Bardes are for the most parte of another mynde, and so farr from Instructing yonge men in morall discypline, that they them selues doe more deserve to be sharpelie discipled, for they seldome vse to Chuse vnto them selues the doinges of good men, for the ornamentes of theire poems, but whomsoever they fynde to bee most lycentious of lyfe most bold and lawlesse in his doinges, most dangerous and desperate in all partes of disobedyence, and rebellious disposition, him they sett vpp and glorifie in theire rymes, him they prayse to the

people, and to young men make an example to followe:

Eudox: I marvaile what kynde of speaches they can fynde or what face they can putt on to prayse such lewde persons as lyve so lawleslie and lycenciouslie vpon stealthes and spoyles as most of them doe, or how can they thincke that any good minde will applaude the same:

Iren: There is none so badd *Eudox:* but that shall fynde some to favor his doinges, but such lycentious partes, as these, tendinge for the most parte to the hurte of the Englishe, or mauntenance of theire owne lewde libertie, they them selues beinge most desyrous thereof, doe most allowe, Besides these evill thinges beinge deckt and suborned with the gaye attyre of goodlie wordes, maye easelie deceave and carrye awaye the affeccion of a younge mynde, that is not well stayed, but desyrous by some bold adventure to make proof of him self for being (as they all bee) brought vpp Idlelie without awe of parentes without preceptes of masters, without feare of offence, not beinge dyrected nor ymployed in any Course of lyfe which maye carrie them to vertue will easelie be drawen to followe such, as any shall sett before them, for a younge mynde cannot rest if he bee not still busyed in some goodnes, he will fynde him self such busynes as shall soone busie all about him, In which yf he shall fynde any to praise him and to giue him encorragment, as those, Bardes and rymers, doe for lyttle rewarde or a share of a stollen cowe, then waxeth he most insolent and half madd, with the loue of him self, and his owne lewde deedes, And as for wordes to sett furth such lewdnesse yt is not hard for them to giue a goodlie glose and painted

shewe therevnto, borrowed, even from the praises which are proper vnto vertue yt self, as of a most notorious theif and wicked outlawe, which had lyved all his [life] tyme of spoyles and robberies one of theire Bardes in his praise said, that he was none of those Idle milkesopps that was brought vpp by the fyer syde, but that most of his dayes he spent in armes and valiant enterprises, that he did never eate his meate before he had wonne yt with his sworde, that he laye not sluggínge all night in a Cabben vnder his mantle, but vsed comonlie to kepe others wakinge, to defende theire lyves, and did light his candle at the flame of theire howses, to leade him in the darkenesse, that the daye was his night and the night his daye, that he loved not to lye longe woinge of wentches to yeild to him, but where he came he tooke by force the spoyle of other mens love, and lefte but lamentacion to theire lovers: that his musicke was not the harpe nor layes of loue, but the cryes of people, and Clashinge of armor, and that fynallie he dyed not bewayled of manye, but [made] manye wayle when he dyed, that dearelie bought his death, doe yow not thincke *Eudoxus* that manie of these praises might bee applyed to men of best desert, yett are they all yeilded to [a] most notable trator, and amongst some of the Irishe not smallye accompted of for the songe when yt was first made, and sunge vnto a person of high degre there was bought as there manner is for fortie crownes:

Eudox: and wel worthie sure, But tell me I praye yow haue they anye arte in theire compositions or be they any thinge wittye or welsavored, as Poems should bee .

Iren: Yea trulie, I have caused dyverse of them to bee

translated vnto me, that I might vnderstand them, and surelie they savored of sweete witt and good invencion, but skilled not of the goodlie ornamentes of Poetrie yett were they sprinckled with some prettie flowers of theire owne naturall devise, which gave good grace and Comelynesse vnto them, The which it is greate pyttie to see so abused to the gracinge of wickednes and vice, which would with good vsaige serve to bewtyfie and adorne vertue, This evill Custome therefore needeth reformacion, And now next after the Irishe kerne, mee semes the Irishe horseboyes would come well in order the vse of which though necessitie (as tymes nowe bee) doe enforce, yet in the thorough reformacion of that realme, they should bee cutt of, for the cause whie they must now be permitted is the wante of convenient Inns for lodginge of travellers on horsebacke and of hostelers to tende theire horses by the waye, But when thinges shalbee reduced to a better passe, this nedeth speciallie to bee reformed, for out of the frye of these rakehellye horseboyes, growinge vpp in knaverie and vyllanie, are theire kerne contynewallye supplyed and maintayned, for havinge bene once brought vpp an Idle horseboye, he will neuer after fall to laboure, but is onelie made fytt for the halter. And these also (the which is one foule oversight) are for the most parte bredd vpp amongst Englishe men and souldyors, of whom learning to shoote in [a] pece, and beinge made acquainted with all the trades of the Englishe, they are afterwardes when they become kerne made more fytt to Cutt theire throates, Next to this theire is another much lyke, but much more lewde and dishonest, and that is of theire Carrowes which is a kynde of people that

wander vpp and downe gentlemens howses lyvinge onelye vpon Cardes and dyce, the which though they haue little or nothing of theire owne, yett will they playe for much monye, which yf they wynne they waste most lightlie, and yf they loose they paye as slenderlie, but make recompence with one stealth or another, whose onelye hurte is not that they them selues are Idle losells, but that through gaminge they drawe others to lyke lewdenes and ydlenesse, And to these maye be added another sorte of like loose fellowes, which doe passe vpp and downe amongst gentlemen by the name of Iesters, but are in deed notable roges and partakers not onelie of manie stealthes by settinge forth other mens goodes, to be stolen, but also privie to manye traytorous practizes and comon Carriers of newes, with desyre whereof yow would wounder how much the Irishe are fedd, for they vse commonlie to send vpp and downe to knowe newes, and yf any meete another his second worde is What newes, In so much that hereof is tould a prettie Iest of a frenchman, who havinge bene sometyme in Ireland, where hee marked theire great inquirie for newes, and metinge afterwardes in France an Irishe man whom he knewe in Ireland, first saluted him, and afterwardes thus merelye, Sir I praye yow, (quoth he) tell me of Courtesie, haue yow heard yett any thinge of the newes that ye so much inquired for in your countrie:

E*udox:* This argueth sure in them a greate desyre of Innouacion, and therefore these occasions which nourish the same are to bee taken awaye, as namelye those Iesters Carrowes Monashite and all such straglers, for whom me semes, the shorte ryddance of a Marshall

were meter then any ordynance or prohibytion to re-strayne them, Therefore I praye yow leaue all this rab-blement of such loose runnagates and passe to some other customes:

Iren: There is a greate vse amonge the Irishe to make greate assemblies togeather vpon a Rath or hill there to parlye (as they saye) about matters and wronges, be-twene Towneshipp and Towneshipp or one private person and another, but well I wote and trewe yt hath bene oftentymes approued, that in these metinges manye mischeifes haue bene both practized and wrought: For to them, doe commonlie resorte all the scume of loose people, where they maye frelie meete and conferr of what they list, which ells they could not doe without suspecion or knowledge of others, Besydes at these parlies I haue dyverse tymes knowen that manye Eng-lishe men, and other good Irishe subiectes haue bene villanouslie murdred, by movinge one quarrell or another, amongst them: For the Irish never come to those Rathes, but armed whether on horsebacke or on foote, which the englishe nothing suspectinge, are then commonlie taken at tagge like sheepe in the pynfold:

E*udox:* It maye bee I*ren:* that abuse maye bee in these metinges, but these rounde hills and square bawnes, which yow see so stronglie trenched and throwen vpp, were (they saye) at first ordayned for the same purpose, that people might assemble them selues thereon, And therefore Auncientlie they were called F*olkemotes*, that is a place for people to meete or talke of anythinge that concerned any difference betwene parties and Towne-shipps, which semeth yett to mee verie requesite.

I*ren:* Yee saye verie trewe E*udox:*, The first makinge

of these high hills, was at first indeed to verie good purpose, for people to meete, but though the tymes when they were first made might well serue to good occasions, as perhapps they did then in England, [yet thinges beinge since altered and nowe Ireland muche diffring from that state of England,] the good vse that then was of them is nowe turned to abuse: For those [hills whereof ye speake were (as ye maie gather by readinge) appointed for two speciall vses and builte by two seuerall nations, The one is those which yowe Call F*olkemotes* the which were built by the S*axons* as the worde bewrayeth: for it signifieth in S*axon*, meting of folke or people and these] are for the most parte in forme fower square well trenched, for the metinge of that quarter, The others that are round, were cast vpp by the Danes, as the name of them doth betoken, for they are called D*anerathes*, that is hills of the Danes the which were by them deuised, not for parlies and treaties, but appointed as fortes, for them to gather vnto in troblesome tymes, when any tumulte arose, for the Danes beinge, but a fewe in comparrison of the saxons vsed this for theire saiftie, They made these small round hills, so stronglie fenced in euerie quarter of the hundred, to the ende that yf in the night or at any other tyme any [troblous] crye or vprore should happen they might repaire with all speed vnto theire owne forte which was appointed for theire quarter and there remaine saif till they could assemble them selues in greate strength: For they were made so stronge with one small enterance that whosoever came thither first were hee one twoe, or like fewe hee or they might rest saif and defende them selfes against manye till more succor came vnto them: And

when they were gathered to a suffycient nomber, they marched to the next fort and so forward till they mett with the perill or knewe the occasion thereof, but besydes these twoe sortes of hills there were auncyentlie dyverse others, for some were raysed, where there had bene a greate battayle [foughte] as a memorie or *Trophes* thereof, Others as monumentes of Buryalls of the Carcases of all those that were slayne in any fight, vpon whom they did throwe vpp such round mountes as memorialls for them, and sometymes did cast vpp greate heapes of stones [as ye maie reade in many places of the scripture and other whiles they ded throwe vpp manie Round heapes of erthe in a Circle like a garland or pitche manie longe stones] on end in compasse, Everie of which they saie betokened some worthie person of note, there slaine, and buried. For this was there ancyent Custome before Christyanitie came in amongst them, that Church yardes were inclosed:

E*udox:* Yee haue verie well declared the originall of these mountes and great stones, encompassed which some vainelie terme, the ould Geantes tryuettes, and thincke that those huge stones would not ells be brought into order or reared vpp without the strength of Geantes and others, as vainelie thincke that they were never placed there by mans hand or Arte, but onelye remayned there [soe] since the begynninge, and were afterwardes discoverred by the deluge, and layd open by the washinge of the waters or other lyke casualtie, But let them dreame there owne Imadginacions to please them selues, But yee haue satisfyed me much better both by that I see some confirmacion thereof in the holye writt, and also remember that I haue redd in

manye histories and Cronicles, the lyke mountes and stones oftentymes mencioned:

Iren: There bee manie greate aucthorities I assure yow to proue the same, but as for these metinges on hills whereof wee were speakinge yt is verie inconveniente that any such should be permitted speciallie in a people so evill mynded, as they now bee and dyverselie showe them selues::

E*udox:* But yet [it] is verie needfull mee semes for many other purposes, as for the countrye to gather togeather when there is any imposition to bee laid vpon them, to the which they then all agree, at such metinges to cutt and deuide vpon them selues accordinge to theire holdinges and abyllities, so as yf at those assemblies, yf there bee anye offycers as Constables balifes or such lyke amongst them, there can bee noe perill or doubte of such bad practizes::

Iren: Neuertheles dangerous are such assemblies whether for Cesse or ought ells the constables and offycers beinge also of the Irishe and yf any happen there to bee of the Englishe even to them they maye proue perillous, Therefore for avoydinge of all such evill occasions they were best to be abollished

E*udox:* But what is that which yow call Cesse yt is a word sure vnvsed amongst vs here, therefore I pray yow expound the same:

Iren: Cesse is none other but that which your self called ymposition, but yt is in a kynd vnacquainted perhapps vnto yow. For there are Cesses of sondrie sortes, one [is] the Cessing of soldiors vpon the countrie, for Ireland beinge a Countrie of warr as yt is handled and alwaies full of soldyors they which haue

the gouerment, whether they fynde yt the most ease to the quenes purse or most readye meanes at hand, for the victuallinge of the soldyors or that necessitie enforceth them thervnto, doe scatter the Armie abroade the Countrie and place them in Townes to take there victualls of them at such vacant tymes as they lye not in Campe nor are otherwise ymployed in seruice, Another kynde of Cesse is the ymposinge of prouision for the gouernors howskeping which though yt bee most necessarie, and be also for avoydinge of all the euills formerlie therein vsed, latelye brought to a composition, yet it is not without great inconveniences no lesse then here in England, or rather much more: The like cesse is also Charged vpon the Countrie sometymes for victuallinge of the soldyors, when they lye in garrison at such tymes as when there is none remayninge in the Quenes store, or that the same cannot convenientlie bee conveyed to there place of garrison, but these twoe are not easye, to bee redressed, when necessitie therevnto compelleth: but as [for] the former, as yt is not necessarie so is it most hurtfull and offensyve to the poore Countrie, and nothinge convenient to the soldyer him self, who during his lyinge at Cesse vseth all kynde of outragious disorder and villanye, both towardes thee poore men that victell and lodge them, and also to all the rest of the countrie about them, whom they abuse [oppresse] spoyle and afflicte, by all the meanes they can invent, For they will not onelie not contente them selues with such victualls as there hostes doe prouide, them, nor yet as the place [perhapps] will aforde, But they will haue other meate prouided for them, and *aqua vitae* sente for, yea and monye besydes

layde at his trencher, which yf hee wante, then aboute the howse he walketh with the wretched poore man and the syllye poore wyfe, whoe are gladd to purchase there peace with any thinge, by which vyle manner of abuse, the Countrye people yea and the verie Englishe which dwell abroade & see & somtymes feele these outragies growe into great detestacion of the soldyer & thereby into hatred of the verye gouerment which draweth vpon them such evills, And therefore this yee may also ioyne with the former evill customes which wee haue to reproue in Ireland:

E*udox:* Trulie this [is] one not the least, and though the persons of whom yt is vsed bee of better note then the former rogishe sorte, which yee reckoned, yet the faulte mee semes [is] noe lesse worthie of a marshall:

I*ren:* That were a hard course E*udox:* to redresse euerie abuse by a marshall, yt would seme to yow [verie] evill surgerie to cutt of euerye vnsound or sicke parte of the bodye, which beinge by other due meanes recouered might afterwardes doe verie good seruice to the bodie againe, and happelie helpe to saue the whole, Therefore I thincke better that some good salue for redresse of this evill bee sought forth, then the least parte suffred to perishe, But hereof wee haue to speake in another place, Nowe wee will proceed to other like defectes, amonge which there is one generall Inconvenience which rayneth almost throughout all Ireland, and that [is] of [the] Lordes of landes and freholders doe not there vse to sett out theire landes to farme or for tearme of yeares to theire tennantes, but onelie from yeare to yeare and some duringe pleasure, neither indeed will the Irishe Tennant or husband otherwise take his land then so

longe as he list him self, The reason hereof in the Tennant is, for that the landlordes ther vse most shamefullie to racke theire Tennantes, layinge vpon him *Coignie* and *Liuerie* at pleasure and exactinge of him besydes his couenant, what he please, so that the poore husbandman, eyther dare not binde him self to him for longer tyme, or that he thincketh by his contynewall libertie of change to kepe his landlord, the rather in awe from wronginge him, and the reason why the landlord will not longer covenant with him, is for that he dalie looketh [after] change and alteracion, and hovereth in expectacion of new worldes:

E*udox:* But what evill commeth hereby to the common wealth, or what reason is yt that any Landlord should not sett, nor any tennant take his land as him self list

I*ren:* Marie the evills which commeth thereby are great, for by this meane both the landlord thincketh that he hath his Tennant more at commaund to followe him into what action soever he will enter, And also the Tennant beinge lefte at his libertie is fyt for euerie variable occasyon of change that shalbe offreed by tyme, and so much also the more willinge & redye is hee to run into the same, for that he hath noe such estate in any his holdinge, noe such buildinge vpon anye farme, noe such costes ymployed in fencinge and husbandringe the same, as might withhold him from anye such wilfull course as his Lordes cause and his owne lewde disposition may carrie him vnto, All which he hath forborne and spared so much expence, for that he had noe former estate in his tenement, but was onelye a tennant at will or little more, and so at will maye leaue

yt, And this inconvenience may bee reason enough, to ground any ordinance for the good of a common wealth against the private behoofe or will of any land-lord, that shall refuse to grante any such tenure or estate vnto his Tennante as may tend to the good of the whole realme:

E*udox:* Indeed mee semes yt is a great wilfulnes in any such landlord, to refuse to make any longer Farmes vnto there Tennantes, as maye besydes the generall good of the Realme, bee also greatlie for theire owne profitt and avayle: For what reasonable man will not thincke that the Tenement shalbe made much the better for the Lordes beehoof, yf the tennant may by such meanes bee drawen to build him self, some handsome habytacion thereon, to dytch and inclose his ground, to manure and husband yt as good Farmers vse: For when his Tennantes tearme shalbe expyred, yt will yeild him in the renewinge his lease, both a good fyne and also a better rent, [And alsoe it shalbe] for the good of the Tennant likewise, who by such buildinges and inclosures, shall receyve many benyfytes, first by the handsomnes of his howse, he shall take great comforte of his life, more saif dwellinge, and a delight to kepe his said howse neate and cleanelie which now beinge as they comonlie are rather swynsteades then howses, is the cheifest cause of his so beastlie manner of lyfe and salvage condycion, lyinge and lyvinge togeather with his beast in one howse in one Rome and in one bedd, that is the Cleane strawe, or rather the fowle donghill, and to all these other comodyties he shall in shorte tyme fynde a greater added that is his owne wealth and riches, encreased, and wounderfullie enlarged by kepinge his

Cattell in enclosures, where they shall alwaies, haue freshe pasture that now is all trampled and ouerrun, warme couer that now lyeth vpen to all weather, safe beinge, that now are contynewallie, filched and stollen:

Iren: Yee haue well *Eudox:* accompted the comodities of this one good ordynance amongst which this that yee named last, is not the least for all thother beinge most benyficiall, both to the Landlord and the Tennant, this cheiflie redowndeth to the good of the Common Wealth, to haue the lande thus inclosed and well fenced: For yt is both a principall barr and ympeachment vnto theives from stealinge of Cattell in the night, and also a gaule against all Rebells, and owtlawes that shall ryse vpp in any nombers against gouerment, for the theef therby shall haue much adoe, first to bringe forth and afterwardes to dryve, his stollen praye, but through the Comon high wayes, where he shall soone bee discryed and mett withall and the Rebell or open enemye, yf any such shall happen, eyther at home or from abroad shall easelie bee found, when he commeth forth, and [alsoe] bee well encountred withall by a fewe, in so straight passages and stronge enclosures: This therefore when wee come to the reforminge of all these evill customes before mencioned is needfull to bee remembred: But now by this tyme mee seemes that I haue well Runn through the evill vses, which I haue obserued in Ireland, Neuertheles I well wote that manie more there bee and infinitelie many more in the private abuses of men, but these that are most generall and tendinge to the hurte of the Common Wealth as they haue come to my remembrance I haue as breiflie as I could rehearsed vnto yow, and therefore I thincke best

that wee passe to our third parte, in which wee noted inconveniences that is in Religion

E*udox:* Surelie yee haue verie well handled these ij former And yf yow shall as well goe through the third lykewise yee shall meritt a vearie good meede: :

I*ren:* Lyttle haue I to saie of relidgion, both because the partes thereof be not manie, yt self beinge but one, and my self haue not bene much conversant in that callinge, but as lightlie passing by I haue sene or heard: Therefore the faulte which I fynde in relidgion, is but one, but the same vniuersall throughout all that Countrie, that is that they are all papistes by theire profession, but in the same so blindelie and brutishelie enformed, for the most parte as that yow would rather thincke them A*thistes* or Infydells, but not one amongst an hundred knoweth anye ground of relidgion and article of his faithe, but can perhapps saye his pater noster or his A*ue Maria:* without any knowledge or vnderstandinge what one worde thereof meaneth:

E*udox:* This is trulie a most pyttifull hearing, that so manye soules should fall into the Devills handes at once, and lacke the blessed comforte of the sweete gospell and Christes deare passion: Aye mee how cometh yt to passe that beinge a people as they are tradinge with so many nacions, and frequented of so many, yet theye have not tasted any parte of those happie Ioyes, nor once bene lightened with the morninge starr of truth, but lye weltringe in such spirituall darkenes, hard by hell mouth, even readie to fall in, yf god happelie helpe not:

I*ren:* the Generall faulte cometh not of any late abuse eyther in the people or theire preistes, who can teach

[noe] better then [they] knowe, nor shewe noe more lighte then they haue sene but in the first institucion and plantinge [of] relidgion in all that Realme, which was (as I reade) in the tyme of Poope *Calestine,* who as yt is wrytten did first sende over thether P*alladius,* who theire deceasinge, he afterwardes sent over, St Patricke beinge by nacion a bryton, who converted the people beinge then infydells from paganisme and christyned them: In which Poopes tyme and longe before, yt is certene that religion was generallie corrupted, with theire popishe trumperie: Therefore what other could they learne, then such trashe as was taught them, and drincke of that Cupp of fornication, with which the purple harlott had then made all nations drunken:

E*ud:* What doe you then blame and fynde faulte with so good an acte in that good Poppe as the reducinge of such a greate people to Christendome, bringinge so manie soules to Christ, yf that were yll what is good:

I*ren:* I doe not blame the Cristeninge of them, for to bee sealed with the marke of the Lambe, by what hand soever yt bee done rightlie, I hould yt a good and gracious worke, for the generall profession which [they] then take vpon them of the Crosse and faith in Christ, I nothinge doubte but through the powerfull grace of that mightie saviour, will worke salvacion in manye of them: But neverthelesse, synce they druncke not of the pure springe of lyfe, but onelie tasted of such troubled waters as were brought vnto them the drugges thereof have brought great Contagion in theire soules, the which dalie encreasinge and beinge still more augmented with theire owne lewde lyves and fylthie conversacion, hath now breade in them this generall de-

sease, that cannot but onelie with verie stronge purgacions bee clensed and carryed awaye

E*udox:* Then for this defect ye fynde noe faulte with the people them selues nor with the preistes which take the charge of soules, but with the first ordynance and institution thereof:

I*ren:* Not so E*udox:* For the syne or ignorance of the preist shall not excuse the people, nor the aucthoritie of theire greate pastor Peters successor shall not excuse the Preist, but they all shall dye in theire synns, for they haue all erred and gone out of the waye togeather:

E*udox:* But yf this ignorance of the people bee such a burthen vnto the Poope, is yt not a like blott to them that now hold that place, in that they which now are in the lighte them selues: suffer a people vnder theire charge to wallowe in such deadlie darkenes, for I doe not see that the faulte is changed but the faultes master:

I*ren:* That which yow blame E*udox:* Is not I suppose any faulte of will in these godlie fathers which haue charge thereof, nor anye defecte of zeale for reformacion hereof, but thinconvenience of the tyme and troublous occasions wherewith that wretched realme hath bene contynewallie Turmoyld: For instruction in relidgion nedeth quiet tymes, and erre wee seeke to settle a sound decypline in the Clargie, wee must purchase peace vnto the Layetie, For it is yll tyme to preach amongst swordes, and most hard or rather ympossible it is to settle a good opynion in the myndes of men, for matters of relidgion doubfull, which haue a doublesse euill opinion of our selues: for ere a newe bee brought in the ould must bee remoued:

E*udox:* Then belike yt is meete that some fitter tyme

bee attended, that God send peace and quietnes, there in Civill matters, before yt bee attempted in ecclesiasticall, I would rather haue thought, that as yt is said, Correction should begine at the howse of god, and that the Care of the soule should haue bene preferred before the Care of the bodye:

Iren: Most trewe *Eudox:* The care of the soule and soule matters are to bee preferred before the care of the bodye, in consideracion of the worthynes thereof, but not in the tyme of reformacion: For if yow should knowe a wicked person dangerouslie sicke, havinge now both soule and bodie greatlie deseased, yet both recoverable, would yee not thincke yt ill aduisement to bringe the preacher before the Phisicion, for if his bodye weare neglected, yt is like that his languishing soule beinge disquieted by his dyseasefull bodie would vtterlie refuse and loath all spirituall comforte: But yf his bodie weare first recured and brought to good frame, should there not then be found best tyme to recure his soule also, So yt is in the state of a Realme, Therefore as I said yt is expedyent first to settle such a course of gouerment there, as thereby both Civill disorders and ecclesiasticall abuses maye bee reformed and amended, whereto nedeth not any such greate distance of tymes as yee suppose, I requier, but one Iointe resolucion, for both that each might seconde and confirme thother:

Eudox: That wee shall see when wee come thereto, In the meane tyme I consider thus much as yow haue deliuered towchinge the generall faulte which yee suppose in relidgion, to weete that it is Popishe, But doe yow finde noe particuler abuses, therein nor in the ministers thereof:

I*ren:* Yes verelie, for what ever disorders yee see in the Church of England yee maye fynde there, and manye manie more, namelie grosse Symonie gredie covetuousnes, fleshlie incontynence, careles slouthe, and generallie all disordred lyf in the Common Clargie men, and besides all these they haue theire owne particuler enormities, for all the Irishe preistes which now enioye the Church lyvinges theire, are in manner mere laymen, [savinge that they haue taken holye ordres but otherwise they doe like layemen] goe lyke laymen, liue like laymen, followe all kynde of husbandrye and other worldlie affaires, as thother Irishe laymen doe, they neyther read scriptures nor preach to the people, nor minister the sacrament of Communion, but the Baptisme they doe, for they Christyan yett after the Popishe fashion, and with the Popishe lattine ministracion, onelie they take the tythes and offringes, and gather what fruites elce they maye of theire lyvinges, the which they converte as badlie, And some of them they saye paye as due tributes and shares of theire lyvinges to theire Bishopps, (I speake of those which are Irish) as they receaue them duelie:

E*udox:* But is yt suffred amongst them, It is wonder but that the Gouernors redresse such shamefull abuses:

I*ren:* How can they since they knowe them not, for the Irishe Bishopps haue theire Cleargie in such awe and subiection vnder them, that they dare not complaine of them, so as they maye doe to them what they please, for they knowinge theire owne vnworthines and incapacytie, and that they are therefore [still] removable at theire Bishopps will yeild what pleaseth him,.and he taketh what he listeth, Yea and some of them whose

dyoces are in remote partes, somewhat out of the worldes eye doe not at all bestowe the benyfices which are in theire owne devocyon, vpon anye, but kepe them in theire owne handes and sett theire owne servantes and horseboyes to take vpp the tythes and fruites of them, with the which some of them purchase greate landes and build faire Castles vpon the same, of which abuse yf anye question bee moved, they haue a verie seemelie coullor of excuse, that they haue noe worthie ministers to bestowe them vppon, but kepe them so vnbestowed, for anie such suffycient person as anie shall bringe vnto them:

E*udox:* But is theire noe lawe or ordynance to meete with this mischeif? nor hath yt never before bene loked into:

I*ren:* Yes yt seemes it hath, for theire is a statute theire enacted in Ireland, which seemes to haue bene grounded vpon a good meaninge, that whatsoever Englishman being of good conversacion and suffyciencie shalbe brought vnto anye of those Bishopps and nominated vnto any lyvinge within theire dyoces, that is presentlie voyde, that he shall without contradiction bee admitted therevnto before any Irishe:

E*udox:* This is surelie a verie good lawe and well provided for this evill whereof yee speake, and whie is not the same obserued:

I*ren:* I thincke yt is well obserued and that none of the Bishopps transgresse the same, but yet yt worketh noe reformacion hereof, for manie respectes, first theire are noe such suffycient Englishe ministers sente over, as might be presented to any Bishopp for anye lyvinge, but the most parte of such English as come over thither

of them selues, are eyther vnlearned or men of some badd note, for which they haue forsaken England, so as the Bishopp to whom they shalbe presented, maye iustlie reiecte them as incapable and insuffycient: Secondlie the Bushoppe him self is perhapps an Irishe man, who beinge made iudge by that lawe of the suffycientcye of the minister, maye at his owne will dislike of the Englishe man as vnworthie in his opynion, and admitte of anye other Irishe whom he shall thincke more for his turne, And yf he shall at the instance of any English man of Countenance theire, whome he will not displease accepte of any such English minister as shalbe tendred vnto him, yet he will vnderhand carie such a harde hand over him, or by his offycers wringe him so sore that hee will soone make him wearye of his poore lyvinge: Lastelie the benyfices them selues are so meane and of so small profitte in those Irishe Countries, through the yll husbandrie of the Irishe people which inhabite them, that they will not yeild any competente maintenance, for any honest minister to liue vpon, scarselie to buye him a gowne: And were all this redressed as happelie yt might bee, yett what good shall anye Englishe minister doe amongst them, by preachinge or teaching, which eyther cannot vnderstand him or will not heare him, or what comforte of lyf shall he haue, when his parishoners are so insocyable, so intractable, so yll affected to him as they vsuallie bee to all the English or fynallie how dare almost any honest ministers that are peacefull Cyvell men, comitte his saiftie into the handes of such neighbors, as the boldest Captens dare scarselie dwell by: :

Eudox: Lyttle good then I see is by that statute

wrought, however well intended, but the reformacion thereof must growe higher and bee brought from a stronger ordynance then the Comaundment or pen-naltie of a lawe, which none dare enforme or Complaine of, when yt is broken, but haue yow any more of these abuses in the Clargie

I*ren:* I coulde perhapps recken more, but I perceave my speach to growe to longe, and these maye suffize to iudge of the generall disorders which raigne amongst them, as for the particulers they are too manye to bee reckoned, for the clargie theire, excepte some fewe graue fathers which are in high place about the state and some fewe others which are latelie planted in theire newe colledge, are generallie badd lycentious and most disordred:

E*udox:* Yee haue then as I suppose gone through these three first partes, which ye purposed vnto your self, to weyte the inconveniences which ye obserued in the lawes, in the Customes, and in the relidgion of that land, the which mee semes yee haue so throughlie touched, as that nothinge more remayneth now to bee spoken thereof

I*ren:* Not so throughlie as yee suppose, that nothinge more can remaine, but so generallie as I purposed that is to laye open the generall evills of that realme which doe hinder the good reformacion thereof, For to ac-counte the particuler faultes of pryvate men should bee a worke to infynite, yet some there bee of that nature, that though they bee in pryvate men, yett theire evill reacheth to a generall hurte, as thextortion of sherifes, subsherifes and theire baylifes, the Corruption of vic-tuallers Cessors and purveyors, the disorders of Senes-

calls Captaines and theire soldyers and manye such lyke, All which I will onelie name here, that theire reformacion maye be mynded in place where yt most concerneth, but theire is one verie fowle abuse which by the waye I maye not omitte, and that is in Captaines, who notwithstandinge that they are speciallie imployed to make peace through stronge execution of warr, yet they doe so dandle theire doinges and dallye in the seruice to them comytted, as yf they would not haue the Enymie subdued or vtterlie beaten downe, for feare least afterwardes they should need ymployment and so be discharged of paye, for which cause some of them that are layde in Garrison doth so handle the matter, that they will doe noe greate hurte to the enymies: [Yet for coullour sake some men they will kill evene half with Consent of the enemye beinge persons either of Base regard or enemyes to the enemye,] whose heades eftesones they sende in to the Gouernor for Comendacions of theire greate endeauors, tellinge how waightie a service they haue performed by cutting of such and such dangerous Rebells:

E*udox:* Trewlie this is a prettie mockerie and not to be permitted by the gouernors:

I*ren:* Yea but how can the Gouernors knowe readelie what persons those weare and what the purpose of theire kyllinge was, yea and what will yee saye if the Captaines, doe iustefye this theire Course, by ensample of some of there governors, who (vnder, B*enedicite*, I doe tell yt to yow) doe practize the lyke sleightes in theire govermentes

E*udox:* Is it possible, take heed what yow say,.I*renius:*
I*ren:* To yow onelye E*udox:* I doe tell yt and that even

with great hartes greif and inward trouble of mynde, to see her maiestie so much abused, by some whom they putt in speciall trust of those greate affaires: Of which some beinge marshall men will not doe all wayes what they maye, for quietinge of thinges, but will rather wincke at some faultes, and suffer them vnpunished, least they havinge putt all thinges in that assurance of peace, that they might bee, should seme afterwardes not to bee needed nor contynewed in theire gouermentes with so great a charge to her maiestie, And therefore they doe Cunningelie carrie there course of goverment and from one hande to another doe, bandye the seruice lyke a Tennis ball, which they will never stricke quite awaye for feare least afterwardes they should wante sporte:

E*udox:* Doe yow speake of vnder magistrates I*ren:* or of principall governors:

I*ren:* I doe speake of noe particulers but the truth maye bee founde out by tryall and reasonable insight into some of theire doinges, and yf I should saye theire is some blame hereof in some of the principall governors, I thincke I might also shewe some reasonable proof of my speach For by that which I and manie haue obserued the lyke might bee gathered: As for ensample some of them seinge, thende of theire gouerment to drawe nighe, and some mischeif or troublous practize growinge vpp which afterwarde may worke trouble to the next succedinge Gouernor will not attempte the redresse or Cuttinge of thereof, eyther for feare they should leaue the Realme vnquiet at thende of theire goverment, or that the next which cometh should receaue the same to quiet and so happelie wine more prayse thereof then

they before, And therefore they will not as I saye, seeke at all to represse that evill but will eyther by grantinge protection for a tyme or houldinge some ymparlance with the Rebell, or by treatie of Comissioners or other lyke deuises, onelie smother and kepe downe the flame of the mischeif, so as yt maye not breake out in theire tyme of goverment, what comes afterwardes they care not or rather wishe the worst, this course hath bene noted in some gouernors:

E*udox:* Surelie I*renius* This yf yt weare true should be worthie of an heavye Iudgment, but yt is hardlie to be thought, that any gouernor would so much eyther envye the good of that realme which is putt into his hand, or defraud her maiestie who trusteth him so much, or maligne his successor, which shall possesse his place, as to suffer an evill to growe vpp which he might tymelie haue kepte vnder, or perhapps to nourrishe yt with coullored countenance or such synister meanes:

I*ren:* I doe not certainelie avouch [so much], E*udox:* but the sequell of thinges doth in a manner proue and plainelie speake so much, that the gouernors vsuallie are envyous one of anothers greater glorie, which yf they would seeke to excell by better gouerning yt should bee a most laudable emulacion, but they doe quite otherwise, for this (as ye may marke) is the Comon order of them, that who Cometh next in place will not followe that course of gouerment how ever good, which his predycessor held, or for destaine of him self, or doubte to haue his doinges drowned, in another mans prayse, But will straight take a waye quite contrarie to the former, as yf the former thought by kepinge vnder the Irishe to reforme them, the next by discountenanc-

ing, the Englishe will currie favor with the Irishe, and so make his gouerment plausible in vewe as havinge all the Irishe at his Commaund: But hee that comes next after will perhapps followe neyther thone nor thother, but will dandle thone and thother in such sorte, as he will sucke sweete oute of them both, and leaue bitternes to the poore land, which yf he that comes after shall seeke to redresse, he shall perhapps fynde such Crosses as hee shall hardlie bee able to beare, or doe anye good, that might worke disgrace of his predycessors, ensamples hereof yee may see in the gouernors of late tymes suffycientlie, and in others of former tymes, more manyfestlie when the gouerment of that Realme was comitted sometimes to the Geraldynes, as when the howse of Yorke helde the Crowne of England, Sometymes to the Butlers, as when the howse of Lancaster gott the same, and other whiles, when an Englishe gouernor was appointed, hee perhapps found enemyes of both, And this is the wretchednes of that fatall kingdome, which I thincke, therefore in ould tyme was not called amisse B*anno* or S*acra insula*, taking sacra for accursed:

E*udox:* I am sorie to here so much as yee reporte, and now I begynne to conceaue some what more of the cause of her contynewall wretchednes, then heretofore I found, and wishe that this inconvenience were loked into, for suer mee seemes yt is more waightie then all the former and more hardlie to be redressed in the gouernor then in the gouerned, as a maladie in a vytall parte is more incureable then in an externall:

I*ren:* Yow saye verie true, but now that wee haue thus ended all the abuses and inconveniences of that

gouerment, which was our first parte, It followeth next, [that we passe vnto the second part,] which was of the meanes to cure and redresse the same, which wee must labour ro reduce to the first begynninge thereof:

E*udox:* Right so I*ren:* for by that which I haue noted in all this your discourse yee suppose that the whole ordynance and institucion of that Realmes gouerment, was both at first when yt was placed evill plotted, and also since through other ouersighte, Run more out of square, [to] that disorder which yt is nowe come vnto, lyke as twoe indyrect lynes the further they are drawen out, the further they goe asunder:

I*ren:* I doe so: E*udox:* and as yee saye, so thincke, that the longer that gouerment, thus contynewethe, in the worse case will that Realme bee, for yt is all in vaine, that they now striue and endeavor by faire meanes and peacable plottes, to redresse the same, without first removing all those inconveniences, and newe framinge as yt were in the forge all that, is worne out of fashion, for all other meanes wilbe but lost labour by patchinge vpp one hole to make manye, for the Irishe doe strongelie hate and abhorr all reformacion, and subiection to the englishe, by reason that havinge bene once subdued by them, they were thrust owt of all theire possessions, So as nowe theye feare that yf they were againe brought vnder they should lykewise bee expelled owte of all which is the cause that they hate Englishe gouerment accordinge to the sayinge, Q*uem metuunt* O*derunt*, therefore the reformacion must now bee with [the strength of] a greater power:

E*udox:* But mee thinckes that might bee by making of good lawes, and establishinge of newe statutes with

sharpe pennalties, and punishmentes for amending of all that is presentlie amysse, and not as yee suppose to begine all as yt were anewe and to alter the whole forme of the gouerment which how dangerous a thinge yt is to attempte, yow your self must needes confesse, and they which haue the mannaginge of the Realmes whole pollycie, cannot without great cause, feare and refraine: For all innovacion is perillous in so much as though yt bee ment for the better, yett so manye accydentes and fearefull eventes maye come betwene, as that yt maye hazarde the losse of the whole: :

Iren: Verie true Eudox: all change is to bee shvnde, where the affayres stand in such state as that they maye Contynewe in quietnes or bee assured at all to abyde as they are: But that in the Realme of Ireland wee see much otherwise, for everie daye wee perceaue the troubles growinge more vpon vs, and one evill growinge vpon another, insomuch as there is noe parte sounde nor assertined, but all haue there eares vpright watinge when the watch word shall come that they should all ryse generallie into Rebellion and cast awaye the englishe subiection, to which there now little wanteth, for I thincke the worde bee alreadie gyven and there wanteth nothinge but oportunitie, which trulie is the death of one Noble person, who beinge him self most stedfast to his soueraigne Quene, his Countrie Coasting vpon the South sea, stoppeth the ingate of all that evill which is loked for, and holdethe in all those which are at his backe with the terror of his greatnes, and the assurance of his ymoveable loyaltie, And therefore where yow thincke that good and sound lawes might amend & reforme thinges amysse theire you

thincke surelie amysse, for yt is vaine to prescribe lawes where noe man careth for kepinge them, nor feareth the danger for breakinge them, but all the Realme is first to bee reformed and lawes are afterwarde to be made, for kepinge and contynueinge yt in that reformed estate:

E*udox:* How then doe yow thincke is the reformacion thereof to be begune, yf not by lawes and ordynances:

I*ren:* Even by the sworde, for all those evills must first bee cutt awaye with a stronge hand, before any good can bee planted, lyke as the corrupt branches and the vnwholsome bowes are firste to bee pruned, and the fowle mosse clensed or scraped awaye, before the tree can bring forth any good fruite:

E*udox:* Did you blame me even now for wishinge kerne horseboyes and Carrowes to bee cleane cutt of as too violent a meanes and doe yow your self now prescribe the same medicyne, ys not the sworde the most vyolent redresse that maye bee vsed for any euill:

I*ren:* It is so But yet where noe other remedie may bee founde, nor noe hope of recouerie had, there must needes this violente meanes bee vsed, as for that loose kynde of people which yow would haue cutt of I blamed yt for that they mighte otherwise perhapps be brought to good, as namelie by this waye which I sett before yow:

E*udox:* Is not your waye all one with the former in effect which you found falte with, saue onelie this odes, (that I saye by the halter and yow saye by the sworde what difference is there:

I*ren:* There is surelie greate when yow shall vnderstande yt, for by the sworde which I named I doe not meane the Cuttinge of of all that nacion with the sword, which farr be yt from mee that ever I should thincke so

desperatelie or wish so vncharitablie, but by the sworde I meane the Royall power of the Prince which ought to stretch yt self forth, in her cheif strength to the redress-inge and cuttinge of of those evills which I before blamed, and not of the people which are evill, for evill people by good ordynance and gouerment, maye bee made good, but the evill that is of yt self evill will never beecome goode:

E*udox:* I praye yow then declare your mynde at large how yow would wishe that sworde which yow meane, to bee vsed to the reformacion of all those evills:

I*ren:* The first thinge must bee to sende over into that Realme such a stronge power of men, as that shall perforce bringe in all that rebellious rout of loose people which eyther doe now stand out in open Armes or in wandringe Companies doe kepe the woodes spoylinge and infestinge the good subiecte:

E*udox:* Yow speake now I*ren:* of an Infynite charg to her maiestie to sende over such an Armie as should tread downe all that standeth before them on foote and laie on the ground all the stiffe necked people of that land, for theire is now but one Owtlawe of any great reckoninge, to wete, the E*arle of* T*yrone* abroad in Armes, against whom yow see what huge charges shee hath bene at this last yeare in sendinge of men provid-inge of victuals and makinge heade against him, yett theire is lyttle or nothinge at all done: But the Quenes treasure spente, her people waisted the poore Countrie troubled, and the enymie neuertheles brought into noe more subiection, then he was, or list outwardlie to shewe which in effect is none, but rather a scorne of her power, and enboldninge of a prowde Rebell, and an

encorragment vnto all like lewde disposed traytors, that shall dare to lifte vpp theire heele against theire soueraigne Ladie, therefore yt weare hard Counsell to drawe such an excedinge charge vpon her, whose event should bee so vncerten:

Iren: Trewe: indeed yf the event should bee vncertaine, but the certaintie of theffecte hereof shalbe so infallable, as that noe reason can gainesaye yt neyther shall the charge of all this Armie which I demaund bee much greater, then so much as in this last twoe yeares warrs, hath vainelie bene expended, for I dare vndertake that yt hath cost the Quene aboue 200000 poundes alreadye, and for the presente charge that shee is now at theire, amounteth to verie nere 12000 poundes a month, whereof cast yee the Counte yett nothinge done, The which some, had yt bene ymployed as yt should bee, would haue effected all this, that I now goe aboute:

Eudox: How meane yow to haue yt ymployed, but to bee spent in the paye of soldyers and provision of victuall:

Iren: Right, so, but yt is now not disbursed at once as yt might bee but drawen out into a longe lengthe, by sendinge over now, 20000 poundes, and next half yeare 10000, So as the soldyor in the meane tyme is for wante of due provision of victuall and good payment of his [sould] sterued and consumed, that of 1000 which came over lustie able men in half a yeare there are not lefte 500 and yett is the Quenes charge neuerthelesse, but what is not paid in present monie is accompted in debte, which will not bee longe vnpaide, for the Capteine half of whose soldyers are deade, and thother quarter never mustred nor sene, comes shortelie to de-

maund payment heere of his whole accompte, where by good meanes of some greate ones and privie sharinge with the offycers and servantes of other some, he re-ceyueth his debte, much lesse perhapps then was due yett much more indeed then he iustlie deserued:

Eudox: I take this sure to bee noe good husbandrie for what must needes bee spent, as good spente at once where is ynough, as to haue yt drawen out into longe delaies, seinge that thereby both the service is much hindered, and yett nothinge saved, But yt maye bee that the Quen-es treasure in so great occasions of huge disbursementes as yt is well knowene shee hath bene at latelie, is not al-waies so readye, nor so plentifull as yt can spare so greate a some togeather, but beinge paid as yt is, now some and then some, yt is noe great burden vnto her, nor any great ympoverishing to her Coffers, seinge by such delaye of tyme that yt dalie cometh in so fast as she poureth yt out:

Iren: Yt maye bee as yow said, but for the goinge through of so honorable a course, I doubt not but yf the Quenes Coffers bee not so well stored (which wee are not to looke into) but that the whole Realme which now (as thinges are vsed) doe feele a contynewall bur-then of that wretched realme hanginge vpon theire backes would for a fynall ryddance of that trouble bee once troubled for all and put to all theire shoulders and helpinge handes and hartes also to the defrayinge of that charge most gladfullie and willinglie, and surelie the charge in effect is nothinge to the infynite greate good which should come thereby both to the Quene and all this Realme generallie as when tyme serueth shalbe shewed:

E*udox:* How manye men then would yow requier to the fynishing of this which yee take in hand, and how longe space would you haue them entertayned:

I*ren:* Verelie not aboue 10000 footemen and 1000 horse and all those not aboue the space of one yeare and a half, for I would still as the heate of the service abateth, abate the nomber in paye, and make other provision for them as I will shewe:

E*udox:* Surelie yt semeth not much that yee require nor noe longe tyme but how would you haue them vsd would yow lead forth your Army against the enimy and seeke him where he is to fight

I*ren:* No E*udox:* [that woulde not be] for yt is well knowne, that he is a flyinge Enymie hydinge him self in woodes and bogges, from whence he will not drawe forth, but into some straight passage or perillous forde where he knowes the Army must needes passe, there will he lye in awaite and if he fynde advantage fytt, wyll dangerouslie hazard the troubled soldyer, therefore to seeke him owte that still flyeth, and followe him that can hardlie be found were vaine and booteles, but I would deuide my men in garrison vpon his Countrie, in such places as I should thincke mighte most annoye him:

E*udox:* But how can that bee I*ren:* with so fewe men, for thenemye as yee now see is not all in one Countrie, but some in Vlster, some in Connough and others in Leinster, so as to plante stronge garrisons in all these places, should need manye moe men then yow speake of, or to plante all in one and to leaue the rest naked, should be but to leaue them to the spoyle:

I*ren:* I would wishe the cheif power of the Armie to

bee garrisond in one Countrie, that is strongest and thother vpon the rest that are weakest, As for example the Earle of Terrone is now counted the strongest, vpon him would I laye 8000 men in garrisson, 1000 vpon Pheagh mac Hugh and the Cavanaghes, and 1000 vpon some partes of Connagh to be at the dyrection of the Governor: :

Eudox: I see now all your men bestowed, but in what places would yow sett theire garrison that they might ryse out most Convenientlie to seruice and though perhapps I am ignorante of the places yett I will take the mapp of Ireland before mee and make my eyes in the meane while my scholemasters to guide my vnderstanding to iudge of your plott:

Iren: These 8000 of Vlster I would deuide likewise into 4 partes, so as theire should bee 2000 footemen in euerie garrison, the which I would thus place: : Vpon the blacke water in some convenient place, as highe vpon the Ryver as might bee [I woulde laye] one garrison. Another would I putt at Castleliffer or Castlefynn or theire aboutes, so as they should haue all the passages vpon the ryver to Loughfoyle, The third I would place about Fermanagh or Bondroise, so as they might lie betwene Connaugh and Vlster, to serue vpon both sydes as occasion shalbe offred, and this therefore would I haue stronger then any of the rest because yt should bee most enforced and most ymployed and that they might putt wardes at Ballashanie, Belike and all those passages, The rest would I sett about *Monnahan,* or Belterbert, so as yt should fronte both vpon thenemye that waye and also kepe the Countie of Cavan and Meash in awe from passinge of straglers and outgad-

ders from those partes whence they vse to Come forthe and oftentimes worke much mischeif, and to everie of these garrisons of 2000 footemen I would haue 200 horsemen added, for thone without thother can doe but little seruice, The fowre garrisons thus beinge placed I would haue to be victualled aforehand, for half a yere which yee will saye to bee hard, considdring the Corruption and vsuall waste of victualls But whie should they not aswell be victualled for so longe tyme as the shipps are vsuallye for a yeare, and sometimes twoe seinge yt is easyer to kepe them on lande, then on water: There bread would I haue in flower, so as yt might bee baked still to serue theire [necessarye] want, theire drincke also theire brued with in them from tyme to tyme, and theire beif before hande barrelled the which maye bee vsed [but] as yt is needed, for I make noe doubte but fresh victuall they will some tymes purvey themselues amongst the Enemyes Creete: Herevnto would I also haue them haue a store of hose and shoes with such other necessaries as maye bee needfull for Soldiers so as they should haue noe occasion to looke for releif from abroad, or occasion such trouble for theire contynewall supplie, as I see and haue often proued in Ireland, to be Cumbrous to the deputie, and more dangerous to them that releive them, then half the leading of an Armye, for thenymie knowinge the ordynarie wayes by which theire releif must bee brought them, vseth commonlie to drawe him self into the straight passages thitherward and oftentimes doth dangerouslie distresse them, Besydes the paye of such force as should bee sente for theire Convoye, the Charge of the Carryages, the exactions of the Countrie shalbe

spared, but onelie euerie half yeare, the supplie brought by the deputie him self and his power, who shall then vysite and overlooke all those garrisons, to see what is needed, to change what is expedyent, and to dyrecte what he shall best aduise, And these fower garrisons, yssuinge forth at such conveniente tymes, as they shall haue intelligence or espyall vpon the Enemye, will so driue him from one steade to another, and tennis him amongst them, that he shall fynde noewheare saif to kepe his Crete nor hyde him self, but flyinge from the fyer shall fall into the water, and out of one danger into another, that in shorte tyme his Creete, which is his most susteynance, shalbe waisted, with prayeing or kylled with dryving or starued for wante of pasture in the woodes, and hee him self brought so lowe, that he shall haue noe harte nor abillitie to endure his wretchednes the which will surelie come to passe in verie shorte space, for one winters well followinge of him will so plucke him on his knees that he will neuer bee able to stande vpp againe:

E*udox:* Doe yow then thincke the wintertime fittest for the seruices of Ireland, how falls yt then that our most ymployementes bee in sommer, and the armies then ledd commonlie forth:

I*ren:* It is surelie misconceyued, for yt is not with Ireland as with other Countries, wheare the warrs flame most in Sommer, and the helmetes glister brightest in the faire sunshine, But in Ireland the winter yeildeth best seruices for then the trees are bare and naked, which vse both to Cloath and howse the kerne, The ground is could and wett which vseth to bee his beddinge, the ayre is sharpe and bytter which vseth to blowe thorowe

his naked sydes and legges, the kyen are barren and without milke which vseth to bee his onelie foode, neyther yf he kyll them, then will they yeild him fleshe, nor if hee kepe them will they giue him foode, besides then beinge all in calf, for the most parte they will through much chasing and dryving, cast all theire calues and loose all theire milke, which should releiue him the nexte sommer after:

E*udox:* I doe well vnderstand your reason but by your leaue I haue heard yt otherwise said of some that weare owtlawes, that in somer they kept them selues quiet, but in wynter they would playe theire partes, and when the nightes were longest then burne and spoyle most so that they might saifelie returne before daye:

I*ren:* I haue likewise heard and likewise sene proof thereof trewe, but that was of such owtlawes as was eyther abydinge in well inhabited countries, as in Mounster or bordring to the Englishe pale, as Pheah mac Hugh, the Cavanaghes, the Mores, the Dempses the Ketinges, the Kellies or such like: For for them in deed the winter is the fyttest tyme for spoylinge and robbinge because the nightes are then as yee said longest and darkest, and also the Countries all about are then fullest of Corne and good provision to bee euerie where gotten by them, But yt is farr otherwise with a stronge peopled enemye, that possesse a whole Countrie: For thother beinge but a fewe are indeed privilie lodged and kept in out villages and Corners nigh the woodes and mountaines by some theire privie frindes to whom they bringe theire spoiles and stealthes, and of whom they contynewallie receyve secrete releif, but the open enemie havinge all his Countrie wasted, what by him [self]

and what by the soldyer findeth then succor in noe place, Townes there are none of which he maye get spoyle, they are all burnte, Countrye howses and farmers there are none, they bee all fledd, breed he hath none he plowed not in somer, fleshe he hath, but yf he kyll yt in winter he shall want milke in sommer, Therefore yf they bee well followed but one winter ye shall haue lyttle worke with them in the next sommer

E*udox:* I doe nowe well perceaue the difference, and doe verelie thincke that the winter tyme is theire fyttest for service, withall I perceaue the manner of your handlinge thee servyce by drawinge sudden draughtes vpon the enemye when he loketh not for yow, and to watch advantages vpon him as he doth vpon yow by which straight keping of them in and not suffringe them longe at any tyme to rest, I must needes thincke that they will soone bee brought lowe and dryven to great extreamities: All which when yow haue performed and brought them to the verie last cast, suppose that eyther they will offer to come in vnto yow, and submitte them selues, or that some of them will seeke to withdrawe them selues, what is your aduise to doe, will yow haue them receyved:

I*ren:* Noe, but at the begynninge of these warrs, and when the garrisons are well planted and fortefyed, I would wishe a proclamacion weare made generallie to come to theire knowledge that what persons soever would within twentye dayes absolutelie submite them selues, (excepting onelye the verie princypall and Ringleaders) should fynde grace, I doubte not but vpon the setlinge of these garrissons, such a terror and nere consideracion of theire perillous estate wilbee stricken into most of them, that they will covet to drawe awaye from

theire Leaders: And againe I well knowe that the rebells them selues (as I sawe by proof in the Desmondes warrs) will turne awaye all theyre raskall people whom they thincke vnseruiceable, as ould men weomen Children and hyndes, which they call Churles, which would onelie waste theire victualls, and yeild them noe ayde but theire cattle, they will surelye kepe awaye: These therefore though pollycie would turne them backe againe that they might the rather consume and afflicte the other rebells, yett in a pittifull Comisseration I would wishe them to bee receyved the rather for that this base sorte of people doth not for the most parte Rebell of him self, havinge noe harte therevnto, but is of force, drawne by the grand Rebells into theire action, and carried awaye with the violence of the streame, ells he should bee sure to loose all that he hath and perhapps his life also, the which now he carrieth vnto them in hope to enioye them there, but he is there by the stronge Rebells them selues soone turned out of all, so that the constrant hereof maye in him deserue pardon, likewise yf any of there able men or gentlemen shall then offer to come awaye and to bringe there Creete with them, as some noe doubte maye steale them awaye privilie I wish them also to bee receyved for the dishablinge of the Enymie: But withall that good assurance maye bee taken for theire trewe behavyor and absolute submission, and that they then bee not suffred to remaine any longer in those partes, noe nor aboutes the garrison, but sent awaye into the Inner partes of the Realme and dispersed in such sorte as they shall not come togeather, nor easelie returne yf they would, For yf they might bee suffred to remaine aboute the garrison, and there inhabite as

they will offer, to till the ground and yeild a greate parte of the profitte thereof, and of there Cattell to the Corronell wherewith they haue heretofore tempted manie they would (as I haue by experience knowen) bee everr after such a gall and inconvenience to them, as that there profitte should not recompence there hurte, for they will privilie releive there frindes that are forth, they will send the enemy secrete advertisement of all there purposes & Iorneys which they meane to make vpon them, they will also not sticke to drawe the enemye [privilie] vpon them, yee and to betraye the forte yt self, by discoverie of all the defectes and disadvantages yf any bee, to the Cuttinge of all there throtes: For avoydinge whereof and many other inconveniences, I wish that theye should bee carried farr from thence into some other partes, so that as I said they come [in] and submitt them selues vpon the first sommons, but afterwardes I would haue none receyved, but lefte to theire fortune and miserable ende, my reason is: for that those which [will] afterwardes, remaine without are stoute and obstynate Rebells, such as will never bee made duetifull and obedyent, nor brought to labor, or civill conversacion, havinge once tasted that lycensius lyfe, and beinge acquainted with spoyle and outrages, will euer after bee redy for the like occasions, so as theire is noe hope of theire amendement or recouerye, and therefore needfull to bee cutt of:

E*udox:* Surelie of such desperate persons as wilefullie followe the course of there owne follye, there is no compassion to bee had, and for the others yee haue proposed a mercifull meanes, much more then they haue deserued, but what [then] shalbe the conclusion of this warr, for

yow haue prefixed a shorte tyme of his contynewance: :

Iren: The end I assure mee will bee verie shorte and much soner then can bee in so great a trouble (as yt semeth) hoped for. Although there should none of them fall by the sworde, nor be slaine by the soldyer, yet thus beinge kepte from manvrance, and there cattle from runninge abroad by this hard restrainte they would quicklie consume them selues and devoure one another, Thee proof whereof I sawe suffycientlie ensampled in those late warrs in Mounster, for notwithstandinge that the same was a most ritch and plentifull Countrye, full of Corne and Cattell that yow would haue thought they would haue bene hable to stande longe, yett err one yeare and a half, they were brought to such wretchednes, as that any stonie harte would haue rewed the same, out of euerie Corner of the woodes & glennes they came crepinge forth vpon theire handes, for theire legges could not beare them, they looked Anotomies of death, they spake like ghostes cryinge out of theire graues, they did eate of the dead Carrions, happye were they could fynde them, yea and one another soone after in so much as the verie Carcases they spared not to scrape out of theire graues, and yf they founde a plott of water cresses or shamrockes, there they flocked as to a feast for the tyme, yet not able longe to contynewe therewithall, that in shorte space there were none almost left and a most populous and plentyfull Countrye suddenlie lefte voyde of man or beast, yet sure in all that warr there perished not manye by the sworde, but all by the extremitye of famyne, which they them selues had wrought:

Eudox: Yt is wonder that you tell, and more to be wondred how yt should [soe shortelie] come to passe:

Iren: It is most true, and the reason also verye readye: for yee must conceyve that the strength of all that Nation is the Kearne, Gallowglasse, Stocagh, horsman and horseboy, the which havinge bene neuer vsed to haue any thinge of theire owne, and now lyvinge vpon spoyle of others, make noe spare of any thinge, but havocke and confusyon of all they meete with, whether yt bee theire owne frindes goodes or theire foes, And yf they happen to gett neuer so great spoyles at any tyme the same they waste and consume in a tryce, as naturallye delightinge in spoyle, though yt doe them selues noe good, And on thother syde what soever they leaue vnspent, the soldyer when he comethe there he havokethe and spoylethe lykewise, so that betwene them both nothinge is verie shortlie left, And yet this is verie necessarie to bee done, for the soone fynishinge of the warr, And not onelye this in this wyse, but also all those subiectes which border vpon those partes are eyther to bee removed and drawen awaye or lykewise to bee spoyled, that the enemye may fynde noe succor thereby, for what the Soldyer spares the Rebell wyll surely spoyle:

Eudox: I doe now well vnderstande you But now when all thinges are brought to this passe, and all fylled with these ruefull spectacles of so manye wretched carcases, starvinge goodlie Countries, wasted so huge a desolacion, and confusion, as even I that doe but heare yt from you and doe picture yt in my mynde, doe greatlie pittie and comisserate itt, yf yt shall happen that the state of this miserie, and lamentable image of thinges shalbe told and felingelie presented to her sacred maiestie, beinge by nature full of mercie, and clemencye, who is most inclynable to such pittyfull complaintes,

and will not endure to heare such Tragedyes made of her people and poore subiectes, as some about her maie insynuate, then shee perhapps for verie compassion of such Calamities, will not onelie stopp the streame of such vyolence, and retourne to her wonnted myldnes, but also con them lyttle thankes which haue bene the aucthors and Counsellors of such bloodye platformes: So I remember that in the late gouerment of that good Lord, Graye, when after longe travell, and manye perillous assayes he had brought thinges almost to this passe that yee speeke of, that yt was even made readye for reformacion, and might haue bene brought to what her maiestie would, lyke complainte was made against him, that he was a bloodye man: and regarded not the lyfe of her subiectes, noe more then dogges, but had wasted and consumed all, so as now shee had [almost] nothing lefte but to raigne in theire Ashes: Eare, was soone lente therevnto, all suddenlie turned topsye turvye, He noble Lord eftesoones was blamed, the wretched people pittied, and newe Counsells plotted, in which yt was concluded that a generall pardon should bee sente over to all that would accepte of yt: vpon which all former purposes were blanked, the gouernor at a baye, and not onelie all that greate and long charge which shee had before bene at quite lost and cancelled, but also all that hope of good which was even at the dore putt backe and cleane frustrate All which whether yt bee trewe or noe your self can well tell:

I*ren:* To trewe E*udox:* the more the pittie: For I maye not forgett so memorable a thinge, neyther can I be ignorante of that perillous deuise and of the whole meanes by which yt was compassed, and verie Cvn-

ningelie contriued, by sowinge first dyssension betwene him and another noble personage, wherein they both at length found, how notablie they had bene abused, and how thereby vnderhand, this vniuersall alteracyon of thinges was brought about, But then to late to staye the same: For in the meane tyme all that was formerlie doen with longe labour and greate toyle was (as yow saye) in a moment vndone, and that good Lord blotted with the name of a bloodye man, whom who that well knewe, knewe to bee most gentle, affable lovinge and temperate, But that the necessitie of that present state of thinges enforced him to that violence, and almost changed his verie naturall disposition, but otherwise he was so farr from delightinge in blood, that oftentymes he suffred not iust vengeance to fall where yt was deserued, and even some of those which were afterwardes his accusers, [hadd tasted to muche of his mercie and were from the gallowes broughte to be his accusers.] But his course indeed was this that he spared not [the] heades and princypalls of any mischevous practize or rebellion, but showed sharpe iudgment on them, cheiflie, for ensample sake, that all the meaner sorte, which also were then generallye infected with that evill might by terror thereof bee reclamed and saved, yf yt were [possible: for in that laste conspiracie of the Englishe pale, thincke you not that theare were] manye more guiltie then that felt the punishment, or was there any almost cleare from the same, yet he touched onelye a fewe of specyall note, and in the tryall of them also even to prevent the blame of crueltie and parciall procedinge, as sekinge theire bloode, which hee in his greate wisdome, (as yt semeth) did foresee would bee

obiected against him, he for avoyding thereof did vse a singuler discression and regarde for the Iurie that went vpon theire tryall, he made to bee chosen out of theire nearest kynsmen, and theire Iudges he made, of some theire owne fathers, of others theire uncles, and dearest freindes, who when they could not but iustlie condempne them, yett vttered theire Iudgment in aboundance of teares, and yet he even herein was counted bloodye and Crewell:

E*udox:* Indeed so haue I harde yt often here spoken and I perceaue (as I alwaies verelie thought) that yt was most vniustlie: For he was alwayes knowen to bee a most iust sincere godlie and right noble man, far from such stearnesse, far from such vnrighteousnes, But in that sharpe execution of the Spanyardes at the forte of Senawicke, I heard yt speciallie noted, and yf yt were trewe, as some reported, surelie yt was a great touch to him in honor: For some saye that he promised them lyfe, others that at least he did putt them in hope thereof

I*ren*: Both the one and the other is most vntrue, for this I can assure you, my self beinge as neare then as anye, that he was so farr from [either] promisinge or puttinge in hope, that when first theire secretarie called as I remember S*egnor* I*effrey* an Italian beinge sente to treate with the Lorde deputie for grace, was flatlye refused, and afterwardes theire Coronell named Don *Sebastian* came forth to entreate that they might parte with theire armors like soldyers at least with theire lyves, according to the Custome of warr and lawe of nacions, yt was strongelie denyed him, and told him by the Lord Deputie him self, that they could not iustlie pleade eyther Custome of warr or lawe of nations, for that they

were not any lawfull Enemies, and yf they were, willed them to shewe by what Comission they came thither into Another Princes Dominions, to warr, whether from the pope or the King of Spaine, or any other the which when they said they had not but were onelie adventurers, that came to seeke fortune abroad and serue in warrs, amongst the Irish who desyred to entertaine them, yt was then tould them that the Irishe them selues, as the Earle and Iohn of Desmond with the rest were noe lawfull Enemies, but rebells and trators, and therefore they that came to succor them noe better then roges and Runnagates, speciallye comminge with noe lycence nor Commission from theire owne Kinge, so as yt should be dishonorable for him in the name of his Quene to Condycíon or make any tearmes with such raskalls: but lefte them to theire choyce to yeild and submitte them selues or noe, wherevpon the said Coronell did absolutelie yeild him self, and the forte with all therein, and Craued onelye mercye, which yt beinge thought good not to showe them, both for danger of them selues, yf beinge saved, they should afterwardes ioyne with the Irishe, and also for terror of the Irishe, who were much emboldned by those forreine succors, and also putt in hope of moe ere longe, theire was noe other waye but to make that shorte ende of them which was made, Therefore most vntrewlie and malyciouslie doe these evill tonges backbyte and slander the sacred ashes of that most iust and honorable personage, whose least vertue of manye most excellent which abounded in his heroicke spirite, they were never able to aspyer vnto:

E*udox:* Trewlie I*ren:* I am right gladd to bee thus

satisfyed by you in that I haue often heard questyoned, and yett was neuer able till now, to choke the mouth of such detractors with the certaine knowledge of theire slanderous vntruthes Neither is the knowledge thereof impertinent to that which wee formerlie had in hand I meane to the through prosecutinge of that sharpe course which yee haue sett downe, for the bringinge vnder of those Rebells of Vlster and Connaght and preparinge a waye to theire perpetuall reformacion least happelie by any such synister suggestyons of creweltie, and to much blood shedd all the plott might bee over throwen, and all the cost and Labour therein employed bee vtterlie lost and cast awaye:

I*ren:* Yee saye most trewe, for after that Lordes callinge awaye from thence the too lordes Iustices Contynewed but a while, of which the one was of mynde as yt seamed to haue contynewed in thee footinge of his predycessor, but that hee was curbed and restrayned, but the other was more myldlie disposed, as was meete for his profession, and willinge to haue all the woundes of that common wealth healed and recured, but not with that heade as they should bee, After whom Sir Iohn Parrott succedinge as yt were into another mans harvest, found an open waye to what course he list the which hee bent not to that pointe which the former gouernors intended, but rather, quite contrarie as yt were in scorne of the former, and in a vayne vaunte of his owne Counsells with the which hee was to wilfullie carried, for hee did treade downe and disgrace all the Englishe, and sett vpp and countenance the Irish all that he could, whether thinckinge thereby to make them more tractable and buxome to his gouerment,

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wherein he thought much amisse, or privilie plottinge some other purposes of his owne, as yt partelie afterwardes appeared But surelie his manner of gouerment could not bee sound nor holesome, for that realme; beinge so contrarie to the former: for yt was even as too Phisitions should take one sycke bodye in hand at towe sundrye tymes, of which the former would minister all thinges meete to purge and kepe vnder the bodye, thother to pamper and strengthen yt suddenlie againe, whereof what is to bee looked for, but a most dangerous relapse, that which wee now see through his rule, and the next after him, happened therevnto, beinge now more dangerouslie sycke then ever before: Therefore by all meanes yt must be foreseene and assured that after once entring into this course of reformacion, there bee afterwardes noe remorse or drawinge backe, for the sight of any such ruefull obiect as must therevpon follow nor for Compassion of theire Calamities seinge that by noe other meanes yt is possible to recure them and that these are not of will, but of verie vrgent necessitie:

E*udox:* Thus farr then yee haue now proceded to plant your garrisons, and to dyrecte theire servyces, of the which neverthelesse I must needes conceyve that theire cannot bee any certaine dyrections sett downe, so that they must followe the occasions that shalbe dalie offred, and deligentelye awayted, But by your leaue I*ren:* notwithstandinge all this your carefull foresighte and provicion, mee thinckes I see an evill lurke vnespied that may chance to hazard all the hope of this greate service if yt bee not verie well looked vnto, And that is the Corruption of theire Captaines, for though they

bee placed neuer so carefullie, and theire companies fyld neuer so suffycientelie, yet maye they, if they list, discarde whom they please, and send awaye such as will [perhappes] willinglie bee rydd of that dangerous and hard servyce. The which well I wote is theire Common Custome, to doe when they are layde in garrison: for then they may better hyde theire defaultes, then when they are in Campe, where they are Contynewallie eyde and noted of all men, besydes when theire paye commeth they will (as they vse) detayne the greatest porcions thereof at theire pleasure by an hundred shiftes, that need not here bee named, thorough which they oftentymes deceaue the soldyer, abuse the Quene and greatelie hinder the servyce, So that let the Quene paye never so fullie, the muster master veiwe them neuer so deligentelie let the deputie or generall looke to them neuer so exactlie, yet they can Cosen them all, Therefore mee semes yt were good, yf at least yt bee possible, to make some provicion for this inconvenience:

Iren: It will surelie bee verie hard, but the chefest helpe for prevencion hereof, must bee the Care of the Coronell, that hath the gouerment of all his garrisson, to haue an eye to theire alteration to knowe the nomber and names of the sycke Soldyers, and the slayne, to marke and obserue theire ranckes in theire dalie rysinge forth to service, by which he cannot easelie bee abused So that hee him self bee a man of speciall assurance and intigretie. And therefore good regarde is to bee hadd in the chusing and appointing of them Besydes I would not by any meanes that the Capteines should haue the paying of theire soldyers but that theire should a paymaster bee, appointed of speciall trust which should

paye everie man according to his Capteins Tickett, and the accompte of the Clarke of his band, For by this meane the Capteine will neuer seke to falcefie his alteracions nor to deminishe his Companie nor to deceaue his Soldyers, when nothinge thereof shalbe for his gaine, this is the manner of the Spanyardes Captaines, who neuer hath to meddle with his soldyers paye, and in deed scorneth the name as base to bee Compted his soldyers, P*agadore*: whereas the contrarie amongst vs hath brought thinges to so badd a passe, that theire is noe Captene but thinckes his band verie suffycient yt he can muster iijxx and stickes not to saye openlie, that he is vnworthie to haue a Captenshippe, that cannot make yt [worthe] vC*l* by the yeare the which they right well veryfie by the proof:

E*udox:* Trulie I thincke this a verie good meane to avoyde that inconvenience of Captaines abusions But what saye yow of the Corronell, what aucthoritie thincke yow meete to be gyven him, whether will yee allowe him to protecte, to saifconducte, to haue marshall lawe as they are accustomed:

I*ren:* Yea verelie but all these to bee lymitted with verie straight instructions as thus for protections: [That they shall have aucthoritie after the firste proclamation for the space of xx daies to] protect all that shall come in vnto them and them to send vnto the deputie with theire saif conducte or passe to bee at his disposition, but so as none of them turne backe againe beinge once Commen in but bee presentlie sente awaye out of the Countrie vnto the next sherif, and so conveyed in saiftye, And lykewise for marshall lawe that to the soldyor yt be not extended, but by tryall formerlie made of his

Cryme by a Iurie of his fellowe soldyers as yt ought to bee, and not rashlie at the will or displeasure of the Coronell, as I haue sometimes sene to lightlie And as for other of the Rebells that shall light into theire handes, that they bee well aware of what condycion they bee, and what holdinge they haue, For in the last generall warrs there I knewe many good Freholders executed by marshall lawe, whose land was thereby saved to theire heires which should otherwise haue excheated to her maiestie, In all which the great discression and vprightnes of the Coronell him self, is to bee the Chefest staye both for all these doubtes and for manye other diffyculties that maye in the servyce happen:

E*udox:* Your Causion is verie good: But now towchinge the Arch Rebell him self, I meane the Earle of T*yrone*, yf he in all the tyme of these warrs should offer to come in and submit him self to her maiestie, would yee not haue him receyved, gyvinge good hostages and suffycient assurance of him self:

I*ren:* Noe marye for theire is noe doubte but he will offer to come in as he hath done dyverse tymes alreadye, but yt is without any intente of trewe submission, as the effecte hath well showed, Neither in deed can he nowe, yf he would come in at all, nor giue that assurance of him self, that should bee meete. For beinge as he is verie subtill headed, seinge him self nowe so farr engaged in this badd accion, can he thincke that by his submission he can purchaise to him self any saiftie, but that heareafter when thinges shalbe quieted, these his villaynies wilbee ever remembred, and whensoever he shall treade awrye, as needes the most righteous must sometymes, advantage wilbe taken thereof as a breach of his pardon,

and he brought to a reckoninge for all former matters, Besides how harde yt is for him now to frame him self to subiection, that havinge once sett before his eyes the hope of a kingdome, hath therevnto found not onelie encorragment from the greatest kinge of Christendome, but also found greate faintnesse in her maiesties with-standinge [him], whereby he is anymated to thincke that his powre is to defende him, and offend further then hee had done whenso he please, lett euerie reasonable man iudge. But yf he him self should come in and leaue all other his accomplices without as Odonell Mac-mahon Mackuyre and the rest, he must needes thincke that then even they will eare longe cutt his throate, which having drawne them all into this occasion Now in the myddste of theire trouble gyveth them the slipp, whereby hee must needes perceaue, how impossible yt is for him to submit him self, But yett if he would so doe, can he giue any assurance of his good obedyence; For how weake hold theire is by hostages, hath to often bene proued, And that which is spoken of taking Shan Oneales sonnes from him and setting them vpp against him, is a verie perillous Counsell, and not by any meanes to bee putt in proof, For were they lett forth and could overthrowe, whoe should afterwardes overthrow them, or what assurance can bee hadd of them. It wilbe like the tale in *Æsope* of the wyld horse who havinge enmitie against the stagge, came to a man to desyre his ayde against his enimye, who yeilding therevnto mount-ed vpon his backe, and so following the stagge ere longe slewe him, but then when the horse would haue him alight, he refused but kepte him ever after in his service and subiection, such I doubte would bee the

proof of shane Oneales sonnes, therefore yt is most dangerous to attempte any such plott, For even that verie manner of plott was the meanes, by which this tratorous Earle is now made so greate, For when as the last Oneale called Turlagh Lenagh began to stand vpon some tickle termes, this fellowe then called Baron of Dongannon, was sett vpp as yt weare to beard him and countenanced and strengthned by the Quene so farr as that hee is now able to kepe her self play much like vnto a gamester, that having lost all borroweth of his next fellowe gamester that is the most wynner, somewhat to maintaine playe, which he setting vnto him againe, shortelie thereby wynneth all from the wynner:

[E*udox:* Was this Rebell then sett vpp first by the Quene as you saye and nowe become soe vnduetifull.]

I*ren:* He was I assure yow the most outcast of all the Oneales then, and lifted vpp by her maiestie out of the dust to that he hath nowe raught him self vnto: And now he playeth lyke the frozen snake, who beinge for Compassion releiued by the husbandman, soone after he was warme began to hisse, and threaten danger even to him and his:

E*udox:* He surelye then deserueth the punishment of the snake and should worthelie bee hewed in peeces, but yf yow lyke not the lettinge S*hane* O*neales* sonnes against him, what saye yee then of that aduise which I hard was geven by some to drawe in the Scottes, to serue against him, how like yow that aduise?

I*ren:* Much worse, then the former, for who is hee that is experienced in those partes, and knoweth not that the Oneales are nearelye alyed vnto the Maçoneales of Scotland, and to the Earle of A*rgile*, from whom

they vse to haue all theire succors of those scottes and Redshankes, Besides all those Scottes are throughe longe contynewance intermingled and alyed to all the Inhabytantes of the North, so as there is noe hope [that] they will ever bee wrought to serue faithfullie against theire ould freindes and kynsmen, And yf they would, how when the warrs are fynished, and they haue overthrowen him, shall they them selues bee putt out, doe [we] not all knowe that the Scottes were the first inhabytantes of all the north and that those which are now called, North Irishe, are in deed verie Scottes which challenge the Ancyente inheritance & dominion of all that countrie to bee there owne auncyentelie This then were but to leape out of the pan into the fyer: For the cheifest caveat and proviso in the reformacion of the North must bee to kepe out the Scottes:

E*udox:* Indeed I remember that in your discourse of the first peoplinge of Ireland, ye shewed that the Scythians or Scottes, were the first that satt downe in the northe, whereby yt semes they may challenge some right therein, How comes yt then that Oneale clames the Dominion thereof, and this Earle of Tyrone sayth the right is in him, I praye yow resolue mee therein: For yt is verie needfull to bee knowen and maketh most vnto the right of the warr against him, whose successe vseth comonlye to be accordinge to the Iustnes of the cause for which yt is made: For yf T*yron* haue any right in that Signiorye, mee semes yt should bee wronge to thrust him out, or if (as I remember yee said in the begynning) that, Oneale when he acknowledged the king of England for his leige Lord and soueraigne did, as hee alledgeth reserue in the same submission all his

signiories and rightes vnto him self, it should bee ac-compted vniust to thrust him out of the same:

Iren: for the right of Oneale in the signiorie of the North, yt is surelie none at all, for besydes that the kinges of England conquered all the Realme and there-by [assumed and] invested all the righte of that lande to them selues and theire heires, and successors, for ever, so as nothinge was lefte in, Oneale but what he receyu-ed backe, from them, Oneale him self neuer had any auncyente signiorie in that Countrie, but what by vsur-pation and incrochment after the deathe of the Duke of *Clarence* he gat vpon the Englishe, whose landes and possessions beinge formerlie wasted by the Scottes vnder the leadinge of Edward Lee *Bruce*, as I formerlie de-clared vnto yow, he eftsones entered into and sythence hath wrongefullie detayned, throughe the other occu-pacions and greate affaires which the kinges of England soone after fell into here at home, so as they could not intend to the recouerie of that countrie of the North, nor restrayning the insolencye of Oneale, who fynding none now to withstand him [raigned] in that desolac-ion, and made him self Lorde of those fewe people, that remayned there, vpon whom ever sythence he hathe contenewed his first vsurped power, and now exacteth and extorteth vpon all men, what he list So that now to subdue or expell an vsurper should bee noe vniust enterprize nor wrongfull warr, but a restytution of an Auncyent right vnto the Crowne of England, from whence they were most vniustlye expelled and longe kept out:

Eudox: I am verie glad herein to bee thus satisfyed, by yow, that I maye the better satisfye them whom I haue

often harde to obiecte these doubtes and slanderouslie to barke at the courses that are held against that Tratorous Earle, and his adherence, But now that yow [have] thus setled your service, for Vlster and Connaght, I would bee gladd to heare your opynion for the prosecutinge of *Feagh* mc Hugh who beinge but a base villaine and of him self of noe power, yet so contynewallie troubleth that state, notwithstandinge that he lyeth vnder theire nose, that I disdaine his bold arrogancye and thincke yt to be the greatest indignitie to the Quene that maye bee to suffer such a caytif playe such reakes, and by his ensample not onelie to giue harte and encorragment to all such bold rebelles, but also to yeild them succor and refuge against her maiestie, whensoever they flye into his Comericke, wherefore I would first wishe before you enter into your plot of servyce against him that you should laye open by what meanes hee beinge so base, first lifted him self vpp to this dangerous greatenes, and how he mainteyneth his parte against the Quene and her power, notwithstandinge all that hath bene donne and attempted against him, And whether also he haue any pretence of right in the landes he holdeth or in the warrs that he maketh for the same:

Iren: I will so at your pleasure: And since yee desire to knowe his first begynninge, I will not onelie discouer the begynninge of his private howse, but also the originall of all his septe, of the *Birnes* & *Tooles*, so farr as I haue learned the same from some of them selues, and gathred the rest by reading This people of the Birnes and Tooles (as before I shewed yow my coniecture) discended from the ancyent Britons, which first inhabyted all

those Easterne partes of Ireland as there names doe be-token, for *Brin* in the Bryttons language, signifyeth (woddye and *Toll* hillye, which names yt semeth they tooke of the Countrie, which they inhabyted, which is all verie mountaine and wooddye, In the which yt semeth that ever sythence the cominge in of the English with Dermonigile, they have contynewed, whether that theire countrie beinge so rude and mountaynous, was of them dispysed and thought not worthie, the inhabytinge, or that they were receyved to grace by them and suffred to enioye theire landes, as vnfitt for any other, yet yt semeth that in some places of the same they did putt foote and fortefied with sondrie Castles, of which thee ruins onelie doe there now remaine, Since [which] tyme they are growen to that strength, that they aree able to lifte vpp hande against all the state, and now latelye through the boldnes and late good successe of this *Feagh mac Hugh:* they are so farr ymboldyned that they threaten perill even to dubline, over whose necke they contynewallie hange, But touchinge your demaund of this *Feaghes* right vnto that countrye or the signorie, which he clames therein, yt is most vaine and arrogant: For this yee cannot bee ignorant, that yt was parte of that which was gyven in Inheritance by *Dermot mac Murrogh* King of Leinster to Stanbowe with his daughter, and which Strangbowe, gaue over to the king and his heires, so as the right is absolutelie now in her maiestie, And yf yt were not, yet could yt not bee in this *Feagh*, but in *Obrin*, [whoe is the auncient lord of all that Country For he and his auncestours were but followers vnto Obrine:] and his grandfather, *Shane mc Turlogh*, was a man of meanest regard amongst them,

neyther having wealth nor power, but his sonne *Hugh mac Shane*, the father of this *Feagh* first began to lift vpp his head, and through the strengt hand great fastnes of *GlanMalor* which adioyneth vnto his howse of Ballene-carre, drewe vnto him many theves & outlawes which fledd vnto the succor of that glenn as to a Sanctuary and brought vnto him parte of the spoyle of all the Country, thorough which he grewe stronge and in shorte space got vnto him self a greate name, thereby amongst the Irishe, In whose footinge this his sonne contynewinge, hath through manie vnhappye occasions increased, his [said] name, and the opynion of his greatnes, so that now hee is become a dangerous enemye to deale with-all:

E*udox:* Surelye I can Comend him that beinge of him self of so bace Condycion, hath through his owne hardinesse lifted him self vpp to that hight that he now dare fronte Princes, and make termes with great Poten-tates, the which as yt is honorable to him so yt is to them most disgracefull to bee bearded of such a base Verlit, that beinge but late growen out of the dounghill be-gynneth now to overcrowe, so high Mountaines, and make him self great protector of all owtlawes and rebells that will repaire vnto him: But doe yow thincke, that he is now so dangerous an Enemye as hee is counted, or that it is so hard to take him downe, as some suppose:

I*ren:* Noe verelye, there is noe great reckoninge to bee made of him, for had hee ever bene taken in hand, when the rest of the Realme, or at least, the partes adioyninge had bene quiet as the honorable gentleman that now governeth there, I meane Sir Willyam Russell gaue a notable attempte therevnto, and had worthelie per-

formed yt, yf his course had not bene Crossed vnhappe-lye: he could not haue stood three monthes nor ever haue looked vpp againste a verie meane power: But now all the partes aboute him, beinge vpp in maddinge moode as the Mores in *Lease*, the Cavanaghes in the Countye of Wexforde, and some of the Butlers in the Countye of Kylkennye they all flocke vnto him, and drawe vnto his Countrye as to [a] stronge hold, where they thincke to be saif from all that prosecute them. And from thence they doe at theire pleasures breake out into all the borders adioyninge, which are well peopled countryes, as the Countye of Dubline, of Kyldare, of *Carlough* of Kylkennye of Wexford, with the spoiles whereof they victell and strengthen them selves, which otherwise should in shorte tyme bee starved and for-pyned: Soe that what he is of him self yow maye hereby perceaue:

E*udox:* Then by so much as I gather out of your speach, the next waye to ende the warrs with him and to roote him quite out, should bee to kepe him from in-vading those Countries adioyning: which as I sup-pose is to bee done by drawinge all the Inhabytantes of those next borders awaye and leaving them vtterlie waste, or by planting garrisons vpon all those frontyers about him, that when hee shall breake forthe maye sett vpon him and shorten his returne:

I*ren:* Yee conceyve rightlie E*udox:*, but for the dis-peopling and dryvinge awaye all the Inhabytantes from the Countries, about him which yee spake of, should bee a great Confusion and trouble aswell for the vnwill-ingnes of them to leaue theire possessions, as also for placing and provydinge for them in other countries,

mee semes the better course should bee by plantinge of garrisons about him, the which whensoever he shall looke forth or bee drawen out with desyre of the spoyle of those borders or for necessitie of victell, shalbe alwaies redye to intercept his [goinge or] cominge:

Eudox: Where then doe yow wishe these garrisons to bee planted, that they maye serue best against him and how manye in euerie garrison:

Iren: I my self, by reason that (as [I tolde you)] I am noe marshall man will not take vpon mee to dyrect so dangerous affayres, but onelye as I vnderstood by the purposes and plottes, which the Lord Graye, who was well experienced in that service against him did laye downe To the performance whereof he onelie required a 1000 men, to bee laid in fower garrisons, that is at *Ballinecorre* 200 footemen & 50 horse, which should shutt him out of his great glenn, whereto hee so much trusteth at knocklough 200 footemen and 50 horse to answere the Countie of Carlo, Att Arkelo or Wicklo 200 footmen, to defend all that syde Towardes the Sea, in Shelelagh 100 footmen which should cutt him from the Cavanaghes and the county of Wexford, And about the three Castles 50 horsmen, which should de-fende all the County of Dubline, and 100 footemen at Talbottes towne which should kepe him from breakinge into the County of Kyldare, and bee alwaies on his necke on that syde, The which garrisons so laide will so busie him, that he shall neuer rest at home, nor stirr forthe abroad, but he shalbe had, As for his Creete they cannot be aboue ground but they must needes fall into theire handes or starue, for he hath noe fastenes nor refuge for them and as for his partakers of the *Mores*

Butlers and Cavanaghes, they will sone leaue him, when they see his fastenes and stronge places, thus taken from him:

Eudox: Surelie this seemeth a plott of great reason and small defycultie, which promiseth hope of a shorte ende, but what speciall dyrections will yee sett downe for the servyces and rysinges out of these garrisons:

Iren: None other then the presente occasyons shall minister vnto them, and as by good spialls whereof there they cannot want store, they shalbee drawen contynewallie vpon him, so as one of them shalbe still vpon him, and sometimes all at one Instant, bayt him, and this I assure my self will demaund noe longe tyme, but wilbee all fynished in the space of one yeare, which how small a thinge yt is vnto the eternall quietnes, which shall therby bee purchased to that realme, And the greate good which shall growe to her maiestie should me thinckes readelie drawe on her highnes, to the vndertakinge of the enterprize:

Eudox: Ye haue verie well mee semes Irenius plotted a course for the atcheivinge of these warrs, now in Ireland which seme to aske noe longe tyme nor greate charge, so as theffectinge thereof, be comitted to men of sure trust & some experience aswell in the same Countrie as in the manner of those seruices: For if yt bee lefte in the handes of such rawe Captaines, as are vsuallie sent out of England beinge thereto preferred onelye by frindshipp and not chosen by suffycientye yt will soone fall to ground:

Iren: Therefore it were meete (mee thinckes) that such Captaines onelye were herevnto imployed, as haue formerlie serued in that Countrie and bene at least live-

tennantes vnto other Captaines there: for otherwise be-inge brought and transferred from other servyces abroad as in france in *Spaine* and in the lowe countries, though they bee of good experience, [in those, and have neuer soe well deserved yet in these they wilbe nowe to seeke and before they have gathered experience,] they shall buy yt with great losse to her maiestie, eyther by hazard-inge of there companies, through ignorance of the places and manner of the Irishe services, or by losinge a great parte of the tyme which is required herevnto, be-inge but shorte in which yt might bee fynished before they haue almost taken out a newe lesson, or can tell what is to bee done:

E*udox:* Yow are noe good frind to new Captaines, yt semes Irenius, that yow barr them from the Credite of this service: But to saye truth me thinckes yt were meete, that any one before he come to bee a Captaine should haue bene a soldyer, for P*arere qui nescit nescit imparere*, And besydes, there is great wronge done to the old sold-yor, from [whome] all meanes of advancement, (which is due vnto him) is cutt of, by shufflinge in these newe Cut-ting captaines into the places, for which he hath longe ser-ued, & perhapps better deserued, But now that [ye] haue thus (as I suppose) fynished all the warr, and brought all thinges to that lowe ebb, which yee speake [of], what course will yee take for the bringinge in of that reformacion, which yee intend and recoueringe all thinges from this dissolate state, in which mee thinckes I behould them now left vnto that perfect establishment and newe common wealth which ye haue Conceyved of which so greate good maye redownde to her maiestie and an assured peace be confirmed, for that is yt where-

vnto wee are now to looke and doe greatlie longe, for, beinge longe sythence maid wearie, with the huge charge, which yee haue laid vpon vs, and with the stonye endurance of so manye complaintes, so manye delayes, so manye doubtes and dangers, as will hereof (I knowe well) arise, vnto the which before yow come, yt weere meete mee thinckes that yow should take some order for the Soldyer, which is now first to bee discharged and disposed of some waye, the which yf yow doe not well foresee maye growe to as greate inconvenience as all this that wee suppose yow haue quitt vs from, by the loose leauinge of so manye thowsand Soldyers, which from henceforth wilbe vnfytte for any labor or other trade, but must eyther seeke servyce and ymployment abroade which maye be dangerous, or ells will perhapps ymploye them selues here at home as maye bee discomodyous:

I*ren:* Yow saye verie true, and yt is a thinge much mislyked in our Common Wealth, that noe better Course is taken, for such as haue bene ymployed once in service, but that returninge whether maymed, and so vnable to labor or otherwise though hole and sound, yett afterwardes vnwillinge to worke, or rather willinge to make worke for the hangeman But that nedeth another Consideracion: but to this that wee haue now in hande, yt is farr from my meaninge to leaue the soldyer, so at randome, or to leaue that waist realme so weake and destitute of strength which maye both defende yt against others that mighte [then] seeke to sett vpon yt, and also kepe yt from that relapse which I before did forecast: For yt is one speciall good of this plott, which I would deuise, that six thowsand soldyers of these whome I

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haue now ymployed in that seruice, and made throughlie acquainted both with the state of the Countrie and manners of the people, should henceforthe be still contynewed and for ever maintayned of the Countrye, without any charge to her maiestie, And the rest that either are ould and vnable to serue longer or willinge to fall to thrifte, (as I haue sene manye soldyers after theire seruice to proue verie good husbandes) should bee placed in parte of the landes by them won, at such rate or rather better then others, to whom the same shalbe sett out:

E*udox:* Is yt possible I*ren:*, Can there bee any such meanes deuized that so manye men should bee kepte still for her maiesties service, without any charge to her at all, Surelie this were an excedinge greate good both to her heighnes, to haue so manye ould soldyers alwaies readye at call to what purpose soever shee list ymploye them: And also to haue that land thereby so strengthned that yt shall neither feare any forreine invasion nor practize which the Irishe shall ever attempte, but shall kepe them vnder in contynewall awe and firme obedyence:

I*ren:* It is so in deed, and yett this trulie I doe not take to be any matter of greate diffycultie, as I thincke yt will also soone appeare vnto yow: And first wee will speake of the North parte, for that the same is of most waight and ymportance, So soone as yt shall appeare that the enemye is brought downe and the stoute rebell eyther cutt of or dryven to that wretchednes that he is noe longer able to hold vpp hand, but will come into any condycions which I assure my self wilbee before thende of the seconde wynter, I wishe that theire bee a generall

proclamacion made, that whatsoever outlawes will freelie come in and submite them selues to her maiesties mercie shall haue libertie so to doe, where they shall eyther fynde that grace they desyre or returne againe in saiftye vpon which it is likelie that so manye as surviue will come in to sue for grace of which who so are thought meete for subiection and fytte to bee brought to good maye bee receaved or ells all of them, for I thincke that all wilbe but a verie fewe, vpon Condycion, and assurance that they will submit them selues absolutelie to her maiesties ordynance for them, by which they shalbe assured of lyfe and libertie and bee onelie tyed to such condycions, as shalbe thought by her meete, for contayninge them ever after in due obedyence: To the which Condycions I nothinge doubte but that they will all most readylie and vpon theire knees submitte them selues, by the proof of that which I sawe in Mounster. for vpon the like proclamacion there they all came in tagge and ragge and when as afterwardes manie of them were denyed to bee receaued, they badd them doe with them what they would [for they wolde] by noe meanes returne againe, nor goe forthe, for in that case who will not accepte almost of anye Condycions, rather then dye of hunger and myserie:

E*udox:* It is verie likelie so, but what then is the ordynance, and what bee the Condycions which yow will propose vnto them, that shall reserue vnto them an assurance of lyfe and lybertie:

I*ren:* So soone then as they haue gyven the best assurance of them selues which maye bee required, which must bee I suppose some of theire principall men to remaine in hostage one of another, and some other for the

rest, (for other suertie I recken of none that maye bynd them, neyther of wyfe nor of Children, since then perhapps they would gladlie bee rydd of both from the famyne) I would haue them first vnarmed vtterlie, and stripte quite of all there warlike weapons, and then these Condicions sett downe and made knowen vnto them, that they shalbe brought and removed with such creete as they haue into lymster, where they shalbe placed, and haue land gyven them to occupye and lyve vpon in such sorte as shal become good subiectes to labour thenceforth, for theire lyvinge, and to applye them selues vnto honest trades of Civillitie as they shall euerie one bee found meete and able for:

E*udox:* Where then a godes name will ye place them in Lynster, or will yow fynde out any newe land there for them that is yett vnknowen:

I*ren:* Noe I will place them in all the Countrye of the Byrnes and Tooles, which feagh mac Hugh hath and in all the landes of the Cavanaghes which are nowe in Rebellyon, and all the landes which will fall to her maiestie there aboutes, which I knowe to bee verie spacious and large yeanough to contayne them, beinge verie nere twentye or thirtie myles wyde:

E*udox:* But what then will ye doe with all the Byrnes the Tooles and the Cavanaghes, and all those that now are ioyned with them:

I*ren:* At the same verie tyme and in the same manner that I make that proclamacion to them of Vlster, will I also haue yt made to these, and vpon there submission therevnto I will take lyke assurance of them as of thother [after which I will translate all that remaine of them into the places of the other] in Vlster with [all] theire

Creete and what elce they haue lefte them, the which I will cause to be deuided amongst them in some meete sorte as each maye thereby haue some what to sustaine him self awhile withall vntill by his further travell and labor of the earth he shalbe able to provide him self better:

E*udox:* But will yow then giue the lande freelie vnto them and make them heires of the former Rebells, so may yow perhapps make them heires also of theire former villanies and disorders, or how elce will yow dispose of them:

I*ren:* Not so, but all the landes I will giue vnto Englishe men, whom I will haue drawne thither who shall haue the same with such estates as shalbethought meete, and for such rent as shall eftesoones bee rated, vnder euerie of those Englishe men will I place some of those Irishe to bee tennantes, for a certaine rent according to the quantitie of such lande as euerie man shall haue allotted vnto him, and shalbe found able to weeld, wherein this speciall regarde shalbe had, that in noe place vnder any landlorde there shall be manie of them planted togeather, but dispersed wyde from theire acquaintances, and scattred farr abroade through all the Countrie, For that is the euill which I nowe fynde in all Ireland, that the Irishe dwell altogeather by theire septes and seuerall nacions, so as they maye practise or conspyre what they will, Whereas yf there were Englishe shedd amongst them and placed over them they should not bee able once to styrr or mvrmure, but that yt should bee knowne, and they shortened accordinge to there demerites:

E*udox:* Ye haue good reason, but what rating of

rentes meane you to what ende doe yow purpose the same:

Iren: My purpose is to rate the rente of all those landes of her maiestie in such sorte vnto those Englishe men as shall take them as they maye bee well able to lyve thereⸯvpon, yeildinge her maiestie a reasonable cheiferie and also giue a Competente maintenance vnto the garrisⸯsons which shall there bee lefte amongst them. For these soldyors, (as I tould you) remayninge of the former garⸯrisons, I caste to maintaine vpon the rent of those landes which shalbe excheated, and to haue them deuided through all Ireland, in such places as shalbe thought most conveniente, and occasion maye require, And this was the Course which the Romaines obserued in the Conquest of England for they planted [some] of theire legions in all places Conveniente the which they caused the Countrie to maintaine cuttinge vpon euerie porcion of land a reasonable rente which they called R*omescot* the which might not surcharge the Tennante or freeholdyer, and defraye the pay of the garrison: And this hath bene alwayes obserued in all princes in all Countries to them newlie subdued to sett garrisons amongst them to Containe them in duetie, whose burden they made them to beare, And the wante of this ordynance in the first Conqueste of Ireland, by Henrye the second was the cause of the so shorte decaye of that gouerment, and the quicke recouerie againe of the Irishe: Therefore by all meanes yt is to bee prouided for: And this is yt that I would blame (yf yt should not misbecome me) in the late plantinge of Mvnster, that noe care was had of this ordynance, nor any strength of a garrison, provyded for: by a certaine allowance out

of all the saide landes, but onelye the present profytt looked vnto, and the saif Contynewance thereof ever hereafter neglected:

Eudox: But there is a band of soldyers laid in Mounster to the maintenance of which, what oddes is there whethere the Quene receyvinge the rente of the Countrie, doe giue paye at her pleasure, Or that there bee a settled allowance appointed vnto them out of her landes there:

Iren: There is greate oddes, For now, that said rent of the Countrie is not vsuallie applyed to the paye of the soldyers, But yt is (euerie other occasion cominge betwene) converted to other vses, and the soldyer in tymes of peace discharged and neglected as vnnecessarie, whereas, yf the said Rente were appointed and ordayned by a stablishment to this ende onelie, it should [not be turned to anie other, nor in troublous tymes vppon euerye occasion her Maiestie] bee soe troubled with sendinge ouer newe soldyers as shee now is, nor the Countrie euer should dare to mutine, having still the soldyer in theire necke, nor any forreyne Enemie, dare to invade, knowing there so stronge a garryson, alwayes redye to receyve him:

Eudox: Sith then ye thincke this Romescott of the paye of the soldyer vpon the land to bee both the redyest waye to the soldyer, and least troblesome to hir maiestie, tell vs I praye yow, how ye would haue the said landes rated, that both a rente maye [rise therout vnto the Quene and also the soldiers paye, which me semes wilbe harde.

Iren: Firste we are to Consider howe muche land there is in all Vlster that according to the quantitie therof wee may] cesse the said rente and allowance,

yssuinge thereout: Vlster as the Auncient recordes, of that realme doe testefye, doth containe Nyne thowsand plowe landes, euerie of which plowlandes, contayneth six score acres, after the rate of xxj foote to euerie pearch of the said Acree, which amounteth in the whole vnto: 1240000 acres, Every of which plowe landes I will rate at xlvj*s* 8*d* by the yere, which is not much more then j*d* *ob.* an acree, the which yerelie rente amounteth in the whole to xviijm *l.*, But because the Countie of Louth beinge a parte of Vlster and contayning in yt vij C and xij plowlandes, is not wholie to excheate vnto her maiestie, as the rest, they havinge in all these warres con-tynewed, for the most parte duetifull, though otherwise a greate parte thereof is now vnder the Rebells, there is an abatement to be made here out of iiij C or vC plow-landes as I estymate the same, the which are not to pay the whole yerelie rente of xl *s* out of euerie plowland, lyke as the excheated landes doe but yett shall paye for there Composition of Cesse towardes the maintenance of the soldyer, xx*s* out of euery plowe lande, so as there is to be deducted out of the former some ij or iijC *l* yere-lie the which may neverthelesse bee supplyed by the rent of the fishinges which are excedinge greate in Vlster, and also by an increase of rente in the best landes, and those that lye in the best places nere the seacoste The which eightene thowsand poundes, will defraye the entertainement of xvC soldyers with some overplus toward the paye of the victuallers, which are to bee im-ployed in victuallinge of these garrisons:

E*udox:* So then belike yee meane to leaue xvC sold-yers in garrison, for Vlster to bee paid principallie out of the rente of those landes which shall there excheat

vnto her maiestie, The which where I praye yow will yow haue garrisond:

I*ren:* I will haue them deuided into three partes, that is vC in everie garrizon, the which I will haue to re- maine in three of the same places, where they weree be- fore appointed, to weete, vC at Straban and about Loghfoyle, so as they maye holde all the passages of that parte of the Countrie, and some of them bee putt in wardes vpon all the straightes thereaboutes, which I know to bee such as maye stopp all passages into the Countrie on that syde, and some of them also vpon the Ban vpp towardes loghsydney as I formerlie dyrected, Also other vC at the forte vpon Logh Earne, and wardes taken out of them, which shalbe laid at fer- managh at Belicke, at Ballyshannon, and on all the straightes towardes Connagh, the which I knowe doe so strongelie Commaund all the passages, that waye as that none can passe, from Vlster into Connaght with- out theire leaue The last vC shall also remaine at theire forte in Monoghan, and some of them bee drawen into wardes, to kepe the keyes of all that Countrie both Downewardes and also towardes Orelies Countrie and the pale as some at Eniskilline, some at Belterberte, some at the Blacke forte, and so along that ryver as I formerlie shewed in the first plantinge of them, And moreover at euerie of these fortes, I would haue the state of a towne layde forth, and incompassed, in the which I would wishe that theire should Inhabytantes of all sortes of Merchantes Artyfycers and husbanmen to bee placed to whom there should Charters and Franchises bee granted to incorporate them the which as yt wilbe noe matter of deffycultie to drawe out of England persons

which wold verie gladlie bee so placed, so would yt in shorte space turne those partes to greate comodytie, and bringe ere long to her maiestie much profytte for those places, are so fytte for trade and traffyque havinge most convenient outgates by ryvers to thee sea and in-gates to the rytchest parte of the lande, that they would soone bee enriched and mightelie enlarged, for the verie seating of the garrisons by them besydes the saiftye and assurance which they shall worke vnto them will also drawe thither store of people and trade, as I haue sene ensampled at Mariburgh and Phillipstowne in leinster, where by reason of those too fortes, though there were but small wardes lefte in them, there are towe goode townes now growen, which are the greatest stay of both those tow Counties:

E*udox:* Indeed mee seemes three such townes as yee saye would doe verie well in those places with the garrisons, and in shorte space woulde bee so augmented, as they would bee able with lyttle helpe to wall them selues stronglie But for the plantinge of all the rest of the Countrie what order would yee take:

I*ren:*What other then as I said to bringe people out of England, which should inhabite the same, wherevnto though I doubte not but great troupes would bee readye to run, yet for that in such Cases, the worst and most decayed men are most readye to remoue I would wishe them rather to bee chosen out of all partes of this Realme, eyther by discression of wise men there vnto appointed or by lott, or by the drum, as was the ould vse in sendinge forthe of Collonies, or such other good meanes as shall in theire wisdome bee thought metest, Amongst the cheif of which I would haue the land sett into sig-

nories, in such sorte as yt is nowe in Mounster, and devyded into hundredes and parishes, or wardes as yt is in England and layde out in shires, as yt was auncientlie, vizt the Countie of *Downe,* the Countye of *Antrian:* the Countie of *Lowth,* the Countie of *Armagh* the Countie of *Cauan:* the Countie of *Colrane,* the Countie of *Monahon* the Countie of *Tirone,* the Countie of *Fermanagh* the countie of *Donergall* beinge in all Ten: over all which I wishe a Lord President and a Counsell to bee placed which maye kepe them afterwardes in awe and obedyence, and minister vnto them iustice and equitie

Eudox: Thus I see the whole purpose of your plott for Vlster and now I desyre to heare your lyke opynion for Connagh:

Iren: By that which I haue alreadye said of Vlster yee maye gather my opynion for Connagh beinge verie answerable vnto the former, But for that the landes which therein shall excheate vnto her maiestie are not so entyrelie togeather as that they cann bee accounted into one Summ, yt nedeth that they bee considered seuerallie, The province of Connagh conteyneth in the whole (as appeareth by the record at Dubline) vij thowsand and towe hundred plowelandes of the former measure and is of late deuided into six shires or Counties, The Countie of Clare the Countie of *Letrim* the Countie of *Roscaman* the Countie of *Galway* the Countye of *Maio* and the Countye of *Sligah:* of the which all the Countie of *Sligah* all the Countie of *Maio,* the most parte of the Countie of *Roscoman* the most parte of the Countie of *Lietrim* a great parte of the Countie of *Galway* and some of the Countye of Clare is lyke

to excheate vnto her Maiestie, for the Rebellion of theire present possessors The which towe counties of *Sligah* and *Maio* are supposed to containe almost iijm plowlandes, the rate whereof ratablie to the former, I vallewe almost at vjm *l* per annum the Countye of *Roscomon* savinge what pertayneth to the howse of *Roscomon* and some fewe other englishe there latelie seated is all out: And therefore yt is wholie lykewise to escheate to her maiestie, savinge those porcions of the Englishe inhabytantes, and even those English doe as I vnderstand by them paye as much rent to her maiestie as ys sett vpon those in Vlster Countinge theire Composicion monye therewithall so as yt maye run all into one reckoning with the former two Counties, So that this Countie of Roscomon contayning xijC plowlandes as yt is accounted amounteth to ijm iiijC poundes, by the yeare which with the former twoe counties rent maketh about viijm viijC *l*, for the former wanted somewhat, But what the excheated landes of the countyes of *Galway* and *Lietrim* will rise vnto, is yett vncertaine to define, till survaye thereof bee made, for that those landes are intermingled with the Earle *Clanricard*, and others, But yt is thought that they bee the one half of both those Counties, so as they maye bee Counted to the vallue of one whole Countie, which contayneth aboue one thowsand plowelandes (for so manye the least countye of them [all] Comprehendeth) which maketh twoe thowsand poundes more, that is in all x or xi thowsand poundes. Thother twoe Counties must remaine till theire excheates appeare, The which letting passe, yett as vnknowne, yett thus much is knowen and to bee accompted for certaine, that the

composition of these twoe Countyes beinge rated at xx*s* euerie plowe land will amounte to aboue ijm *l* more, All which beinge layde togeather, to the former maye be reasonablie estymated to ryse vnto xiijm poundes, the which some togeather with the rente of thexcheated landes in the twoe last Counties which cannot yett be vallued, (beinge as I doubte not lesse then a thowsand poundes more) will yeild [paye] largelie vnto a thowsand men and theire victuallers and a thowsand poundes over towardes the gouernor

E*udox:* Yee haue mee thinckes made, but an estym-ate of [these landes of] Connaght even at a verie venter, so as yt should bee hard to build anye certaintie of charge to bee raised vpon the same,

I*ren:* Not altogeather yet vpon vncertainties, for thus much maye easelie appeare vnto you for certen, as the composition monye of euerie plowland amounteth vnto, for this I would haue yow princypallie vnder-stand, that my purpose is to rate all the landes in Ireland at xx*s* euerie ploweland, for theire composition to-wardes the garrison: The which I knowe in regarde, of beinge freed from all other charges whatsoever, wilbee redelie and most gladlie yeilded vnto, So that there be-inge in all Ireland, (as appeareth by theire old recordes) 43920 plowlandes, the same shall amounte to the some lykewise of 43920 poundes, and the rest to bee reared of thexcheated landes, which fall to her maiestie in the said provinces, of Vlster Connoght and that parte of Leinster vnder the Rebells, (for Mounster wee deale not [yet] withall):

E*udox:* But tell me this by the waye, doe yow then laye composition vpon thexcheated landes as yow doe

vpon the rest, for so mee thinckes yow recken all togeather: And that sure were to much to paye, vij nobles out of euerie plowland and composition monye besydes, that is xx*s* out of euerie plowe land:

I*ren:* Noe, yow mistake me, I put onelie vij nobles rent and composition both vpon euerie plowe land excheated, that is xl*s* for composition and vj*s* viij*d* for cheiferie to her maiestie:

E*udox:* I doe now conceaue yow: proceed then I pray yow to the appointing of your garrissons in Connaght, and shewe vs both how manye and where yow would haue them placed,

I*ren:* I would haue one thowsand laid in Connaght in two garrissons namelie, vC in the Countie of *Maio*, about *Clan Mac Costulaghes*, which shall kepe [all] *Maio*, and the *Burks* of *William Euter*, Thother vC in the Countie of *Clanricharde* about *Garrandough*, that they maye Containe the Conhors and the Burkes, there the kellies and [the] mack[murries] with all them about, for that garrison, which I formerlie placed at Loughearne will serue for all occasions in the Countie of *Slygah* beinge nere adioyninge therevnto, so as in one nightes march they maye bee almost in any place thereof when need shall requier them, And like as in the former places of garrisson in Vlster, I wished iij Corporate townes to bee planted, which vnder the saifegarde of that strength, shall dwell and trade saifelie with all the Countrye about them, so would I also wishe to bee in this of Connoght, and that besydes there were another established at Athlone with a convenient ward in the Castle there, for theire defence:

E*udox:* What should that need seinge that the gouer-

nor of Connough vseth to lye there alwaies, whose presence wilbe a defence to all that Towneshipp

Iren: I knowe he doth so: but that is much to bee disliked that the Gouernor should lye so farr of in the remotest place of all the Province, whereas yt were meter that he should bee contenewallie abydinge in the myddest of his charge, that he might both looke out alike into all places of his gouerment and also bee soone at hand in anye place where occasion shall demand him, for the presence of the Gouernor is (as yow said) a greate staye and brydle vnto them, that are yll disposed, like as I see yt is well obserued in Mounster, where the dalie good thereof is contynewallie apparant, And for this cause also doe I greatelie dislike the Lord Deputies seatinge at Dubline, beinge the owtest Corner in the Realme, and least neding the awe of his presence, whereas mee seemes yt were fytter, since his proper care is of Leinster, though he hath Care of all besydes generallie, that he should seate him self about Athie or thereaboutes, vpon the skyrt of that vnquiet Countrie, so that he might sytt [as it were] at the verie maine mast of the shipp, whence he mighte easelye overlooke and sometymes overreach the Mores, The Butlers, the Dempses, the Ketins, the Connors Ocarrell Omoloy and all that heape of Irishe nations which there lye hudled togeather, without any to overrule them or containe them in dewtie, for the Irisheman I assuree yow, feares the gouerment noe longer then he is within sight or reach:

E*udox:* Surelie mee thinkes herein yow obserue a matter of much ymportance, more then I haue heard ever noted, but sure that semes so expedient as that I

wonder yt hath bene heretofore over [seene or] omitted, But I suppose the instance of the Cittizens of Dubline is the greatest let thereof.

Iren: Truelie then yt ought not so to bee, for noe cause haue they to feare that yt wilbe any hinderance for them, for Dubline wilbe still as yt is the keye of all passages, and transportacions out of England thither, to noe lesse profytte of those Cyttizens then yt now is and besydes other places will hereby receyve some benyfyte: But let vs now I praye yow come to Leinster, in the which I would wishe the same Course to bee obserued as in Vlster:

Eudox: Yow meane for the leavinge of the garrisons in theire fortes, and for planting of English in all those Countries betwene the Countye of Dubline and the Countie of Wexforde, but those waste wyld places, I thincke when they are wonn vnto her maiestie, that there is none that wilbe haistie to seeke to inhabite:

Iren: Yes ynough I warrante, for though the whole tracte of the Countrie bee mountaine and wooddie yett there are manye goodlie vallies amongst them fytt for fayre habytacion, to which those mountaines adioyned wilbe a greate increase of pasturage for that Countrie, is a verie greate soyle of Cattell and verie fytt for breed, As for corne yt is nothinge naturall, save onelye, barlie and otes and some places, for Rye, and therefore the larger pennyworthes maye bee allowed vnto them though otherwise the wydenes of the mountaine pasturage doe recompence the badnes of the soyle, So as I doubte not but yt will fynde inhabytantes and vndertakers enough:

E*udox:* How much then doe you thincke, that all those landes which Pheagh Mac Hugh holdeth vnder him maye amounte vnto, and what rente maye bee reared thereout, to the maintenance of the garrissons that shalbe layde there:

I*ren:* Trulie yt is ympossible by ayme to tell yt and as for experience and knowledge I doe not thincke that there was ever any of the partyculers thereof: But yett I will yf yt please yow gesse thereat vpon ground onelye of theire iudgement which haue formerlie deuided all that Countrye into twoe shires or Counties, namelie the countie of W*icklo* and the Countye of F*ernes*, the which twoe I see noe cause but they should holye excheate to her maiestie all but the barrony of Arclo, which is the Earle of Ormewoodes ancyente inheritance, and hath ever beene in his possession, For all the whole land is the Quenes vnlesse there bee some grante of any parte thereof, to bee showed from her maiestie as I thincke theire is onelie of Newcastle to Sir Henrye Harrington, and of the Castle of Fernes to Sir Thomas Masterson, the rest beinge almost Thirtie myles over, I doe suppose can containe noe lesse then, twoe Thowsand plowlandes which I will estymate at iiijm*l* rent by the yeare, The rest of leinster beinge vij Counties to weete the Countye of Dubline, K*ildare* C*atherlogh* W*exford* K*ilkennye* the kinge and the Quenes Countie, doe containe in them 7400 plowlandes which amounteth to so manye poundes, for composition to the garrison, that makes in the whole xi^{m}iiij^{c}*l*, The which some wyll yeild paye vnto a thowsand soldyers, lyttle wantinge, which may bee supplyed out of other landes of the

Cavanaghes which are to bee excheated to her maiestie, for the rebellyon of there possessours, though otherwise indeed, they bee her owne ancyente demeane,

E*udox:* It is great reason, but tell vs now, where would yow wishe those garrisons to bee laid, whether altogeather or to be dispersed in sondrye places of the Countrie:

I*ren:* Marie in sundrie places, to weete in this sorte or much the lyke as maye bee better aduised for CC in a place I doe thincke to bee ynough for the saifgarde of the Countrie and keping vnder all sudden vpstartes, that shall seeke to trouble the peace thereof, therefore I wishe to be layde at B*allinocorre*, for the kepinge of all bad persons from G*lanmalour*, and all the fastenesse thereaboutes and also to Containe all that shalbe planted in those landes thenceforth: 200. Another 200 at *knocklough* in theire former place of garrisone to kepe the Brisklagh and all those mountaines of the Cavanaghes 200 more to lye at Fearnes and vpwardes in wardes vpon the S*lane* 200 to be placed, at the forte of Leix, to restraine the M*ores* O*ssorie* and Ocarroll other 200 at the forte of O*faley*, to Curbe the O C*onnors* O*moloys*, *mc* C*oghlan* M*accughegan*, and all those Irishe nations, borderinge thereaboutes:

E*udox:* Thus I see all your Thowsand men bestowed in Leinster what saye yow then of Meath which is the fifte parte:

I*ren:* Meath which contayneth both Eastmeath and Westmeathe, and of late the Analye, now called the Countye of Langeford is accompted therevnto, But Meath it self (accordinge to the old recordes) 4320 plowlandes and the Countye of langeford 947: which

in the whole make, 5267 plowlandes, of which the Compossition monie will amount lykewise to fyve thowsand two hundred, threscore and seaven poundes, to the maintenance of the garrison, But because all Meath lyinge in the bosome of that kingdome, is al-wayes quiet ynough, yt is needlesse to putt any garrison there, so as all that charge maye be spared: But in the Countye of Longford, I wishe 200 footemen, and fyftie horsemen to be placed in some convenient seat, betwene the *Analie* and the *Brenie*, as about Lough-sillon, or some lyke place of that ryver, so as they might [kepe] both the *Orelies* and also the *Ofarralls* and all that out skirte of Meath in awe, the which vse vpon euerie light occasyon, to be stirringe, and havinge con-tynewall enmitie amongst them selues, doe thereby oftentymes troble all those partes, the charge whereof beinge 3400 and odd poundes, is to bee cut out of that composition money, for meeth and longefoord, The ouerplus being almost 2000 *l* by the yeare will come in clearlie to her maiestie:

Eudox: It is worth the harkeninge vnto but now that yow haue donne with Meath, proceed I praye yow to *Mounster*, that wee maye see how yt will ryse, there for the maintenance of the garrison:

Iren: Mounster contayneth by record at Dubline, 16000 plowlandes, the composition whereof as the rest will make 16000*l* by the yeare, out of the which I would haue a thowsand soldyers to be mantayned for the de-fence of that province, the charge of which with the victualers wages will amounte to 12000*l*, by the yeare, Thother 4000*l* will defraye the Charges of the precy-dencie and the Counsell of that province:

Eudox: the reckoninge is easie but in this Accompt by your leaue me thinckes, yow are deceaued, for in this some of the Composition monye yee account the landes of the vndertakers of that Province, who are by theire grante from the Quene to bee free from all such ympositions whatsoeuer exceptinge theire onelye rente which is surelie ynoughe:

Iren: Yee saye trewe I did so: But the same xx*s* for everie plowland I meant to haue deducted out of the rente, due vpon them to her maiestie, which is noe hinderance nor charge att all more to her maiestie then yt now is, for all that rent which shee receaues, of them she putteth forthe againe to the maintenance of the presidencie there the charge whereof yt doth scarselie defraye, whereas in this accompte, both that charge of the Presidencie, and also of 1000 soldyors more shalbe maintayned:

Eudox: It should bee well if yt could bee brought to that: now where will you haue your thowsand men garrissond

Iren: I would haue 100 of them placed at the Baintree where is a most fytte place, not onelye to defende all that syde of the west parte from forraine invasion, but also to answere all occasions of trobles, to which that countrie, beinge so remote is verie subiecte, And suerlie here also would bee placed a good towne, havinge both [a] verie good haven and [a] plentifull fishinge, and the land beinge alreadye excheated to her maiestie, but beinge forceablie kept from her by a ragtayle kerne, that proclames himself the bastard sonne of the Earle of *Clancar* beinge called *Donell mac Chartie*, whom yt is meete to foresee to cutt of: For whensoever the Earle

shall dye all those landes after him are to come to her maiestie, he is lyke to make a fowle styrr there, thoughe of him self of noe power, yet throughe supportance of some others, who lye in the wynde and looke after the fall of that Inherytance, An other 100 would I haue placed at *Castlemayne*, which should kepe all *Desmond* and Kyrrye, for yt answerethe them both most conven-ientelie: Also aboute Kylmore in the Countye of Corke would I haue 200 placed which should breake that neast of theeves there, and answere equallye both the Countye of Lymbricke and also the Countye of Corke, Another hundred would I haue lye at Corcke, aswell to Commaund the Towne as also to bee readye for any forreine occasion: lykewise, at Waterforde, would I place 200, for the same reasons, and also for other privie causes that are noe lesse importante, More-over on the syde of *Arlo*, nere to Muskrye wherke, which is the Countrie of the Bourkes about Kilpatrick would I haue 200 more to bee garrisoned, which should scowre both the white knightes Countrie and Arlo & Muskrye wherkes, by which places all the passages of theeves doth lye, which convaie theire stealth from [all] Mounster downewardes, Towardes *Tipperari* and the englishe paile, and from the englishe pale also vpp into Mounster whereof they vse to make a common trade: Besydes that ere longe I doubte the Countye of Typperarie yt self will need such a strengthe in yt, which were good to bee there readye, before the evill fall, that is dalie of some expected, and thus yow see all your garrisons placed:

Eudox: I see yt right well, but lett mee I praye you by the waye, aske the reason whie in those Cytties of

Mounster, namelye waterforde and Corcke, yee rather placed garrissons, then in all thothers in Ireland, for they maye thincke them selues to haue great wronge to bee so charged aboue all the rest:

Iren: I will tell yow, those twoe Cytties aboue all the rest doe offer an ingate to the Spanyard moste fytlie, and also the inhabytantes of them are most ill affected to the Englishe gouerment and most freindes to the Spanyarde, But yett because they shall not take exception to this, that they are charged aboue all the rest, I will also laye a charge vpon thothers lykewise, for indeed yt is noe reason that the Corporate Townes enioyinge greate franchises and privilidges from her maiestie, and lyvinge thereby not onelie saif but drawinge to them the wealth of all the lande, should lyve so free, as not to bee partakers of the burthen of this garrison, for theire owne saiftye, speciallye in this tyme of troble, and seinge all the rest burdyned, and therefore I will thus charge them all ratablie accordinge to theire abillities, towardes theire maintaynance, the which her maiestie maye yf shee please, spare out of the charge of the rest, and reserue towardes her other costes, or [els] add to the charge of the Presidence in the northe

Waterford	100	Clonmell	10	Dundalke	10
Corck	50	Cashell	10	Molingar	10
Lymbricke	50	Federd	10	Newry	10
Galway	50	Kilkenny	25	Trym	10
Dinglecush	10	Wexford	25	Ardye	10
Kinsaile	10	Dreodagh	25	Kells	10
Youghall	10	Rosse	25	Dubline	100
Kilmallocke	10				

Somm 480

Eudox: It is easye *Iren:* to laye a charge vpon any towne but to foresee how the same may bee answered and defrayed is the cheif parte of good aduisement:

Iren: Surelie this charge which I putt vpon them I knowe to be so reasonable as that yt will not much bee felte, for the Porte townes which haue benefyte of shippinge, maye cutt yt easelie of theire tradinge, and inlande townes of theire Corne and cattell, Neither doe I see, but that since to them [especiallie] the bennyfite of peace doth redownde, that they speciallie should beare the bourden of theire saivegardes and defence, as wee see all the Townes of the lowe countries doe cut vpon them selves, an excise of all thinges towardes the maintenance of the war, that is mad in there behalf, to which though these are not to bee compared in ritches, yet are to bee charged accordinge to theire povertie:

Eudox: But now that yow haue sett vpp these forces of soldyers and prouided well as yow suppose for theire paye, yett there remayneth to forcast how they maye be victualled, and where purvayance thereof may be made, for in Ireland yt self I can not see how any thinge almost is to be had for them, beinge alreadye so pittifullie wasted as yt is with this shorte tyme of warr:

Iren: For the first twoe yeres Indeed yt is needfull that they bee victualled out of England throughlie, from half yere to half yere aforehand, which tyme the Englishe pale shall not bee burdyned at all, but shall haue tyme to recouer them selues, And mounster also beinge reasonablie well stored, wil by that time yf god send seasonable weather bee throughlie well furnished to supplye a greate parte of that charge for I knowe there is greate plentye of corne sent over sea from thence, The

which yf they might haue sayle for at home they would bee gladd to haue monye so nere hand speciallye yf they were straightlie restrayned from transportinge of yt, therevnto also there wilbe a greate helpe and furtherance gyven to the putting forward of husbandrie in all meete places, as hereafter shall in due place appere, but hereafter when thinges shall growe to a better strength and the Countrie bee replennished with Corne as in shorte space yt will yf yt bee well followed, for the Countrye people them selves aree greate plowers and small spenders of Corne, Then would I wishe there should bee good storehowses and magasines erected in all those great places of garrison, and in all great Townes, aswell for the victualling of soldyers and shipps, as for all occasions of sudden seruices, as also for preventinge of all tymes of dearth and scarsytie, and this want is much to be complayned of in England, aboue all other Countries, who trustinge to much to the usvall blessing of the earthe, doe never forcast any such harde seasons nor any such sudden occasyons, as these troblesome tymes maye everie daye bring forthe, when yt wilbe too late to gather provision from abroad, and to bringe [it] perhapps from farr, for the furnishinge of shipps or soldyers, which peradventure maye need to bee presentlie imployed, and whose want maye (which god forbydd) happ to hazard a kingdome,:

Eudox: Indeed the wante of these magasynes of victualls I haue hard oftentymes complayned of in England and wondred at in other Countries: But that is nothinge now to our purpose, but as for these garrissons which yee haue nowe so strongelye planted, throughout all Ireland, and euerie place swarming with sold-

yers: shall there be noe end of them: For now thus being mee semeth I doe see rather a Countrie of Warr, then of peace and quiet which yee erst pretended to worke in Ireland, for yf you bringe all thinges to the quietnes which yee said, what need then to maintaine so great forces as ye haue charged vpon yt:

Iren: I will vnto yow *Eudox:* In privitie discover the drifte of my purpose I meane (as I tould yow) and doe well hope hereby both to settle an eternall peace in that Countrie, and also to make yt verie profitable to her maiestie, the which I see must bee brought in by a stronge hand, and so contynewed vntyll yt growe into a stedfast course of gouerment: The which in this sorte will neyther bee defyculte, nor dangerous: for the soldyer beinge once brought in for the service into Vlster, and havinge subdued yt and Connaught: I will not haue him to laye downe his Armes any more till he haue effected that which I purpose: That is first to haue a generall composition for the maintenance of these throughout the realme, in regard of the troublous tymes and dalye danger which is threatened to this Realme by the kinge of spaine, and therevpon to bestowe all the soldyers in sorte as I haue done, that noe parte of all Ireland, shalbe able to dare so much as, quinch, Then will I eftsones bringe in my reformacion and therevpon establishe such an order of gouerment as I maye thincke metest for the good of that realme, which beinge once established and all thinges putt into a right waye, I doubte not but they will rvn on farelye, and though they would euer seeke to swarue asyde, yet shall they not be able without forraine violence once to remove, as yow your self shall sone I hope in your owne reason

readelye conceaue, which yf yt shall ever appeare, then may her maiestie at pleasure withdrawe some of her garrison, and turne there paye into her purse, or yf shee will neuer please so to doe, (which I would rather wishe) then shall shee haue a nomber of braue ould Soldyors alwayes readye for any occasion that shee will ymploye them vnto, supplyinge there garrisons with freshe ones in theire stead, the maintenance of whom shalbe noe more charge to her maiestie, then now the realme is, for all the reveinewe thereof and much more shee spendeth even in the most peaceable tymes that are there, (as thinges now stand) And in tyme of warr which is once now sure everie vijth yeare, she spendeth infynite treasure besydes to small purpose:

E*udox:* I perceaue your purpose but now that yow haue thus strongelie made waye vnto your reformacion as that I see the people so humbled and prepared that they will and must yeild to any ordynance that shalbe gyven them, I doe much desyre to vnderstand the same, for in the begynninge yow promissed to shewe a meane how to redresse all those inconveniences and abuses which yow showed to bee in that state of gouerment, which now standeth there as in the lawes Customes and religion, Wherein I would gladlye know first, whether in stead of those lawes, yow would haue newe lawes made, for now for ought that I see yow maye doe what yow please:

I*ren:* I see E*udox:* That yow well remember our first purpose, and doe rightlie contynewe the course thereof: Firste therefore to speake of lawes, since wee first began with them, I doe not thincke yt convenient though now yt bee in the power of the Prince, to change [all] the

lawes and make newe: For that should breed a greate trouble and confusyon, aswell in the English now dwellinge, and to be planted, as also in the Irishe: for the Englishe havinge bene trayned vpp alwayes in the Englishe gouerment, will hardly bee envred vnto any other, and the Irishe will better be drawen to the Englishe, then the Englishe to the Irishe gouerment: Therefore since wee cannot now applye lawes fytte to the people, as in the first instytucion of common wealthes yt ought to bee, wee will applye the people and fytte them to the lawes, as yt most convenientlie maye bee, The lawes therefore wee resolue shall abyde in the same sorte that they doe, both Common lawe and statutes, onelye such defectes in the Comon lawe, and inconveniences in the statutes, as in the begynninge wee noted, and as men of deep insight shall aduise, maye be changed by some other newe actes and ordynances to [be] by a parlament there confirmed, as those of trialls of pleas of the Crowne, and private rightes betwene parties coullorable conveyances accessaries &c

E*udox:* But how will those be redressed by parlamente, when as the Irishe which swaye most in parlament as yow said shall oppose them selues against them:

I*ren:* That may now be well avoyded, for now that so many freeholders of Englishe shalbe established, they togeather with Burgesses of Townes and such other loyall Irishe men as maye bee preferred to bee knightes of the shire, and such lyke, wilbe able to beard and counterpoise the rest who also beinge now broughte more in awe, will the more easelie submitte to any such ordynances as shalbe for the good of them selues and that Realme generallie:

Eudox: Yow saye well for the increase of the Fre-holders for there nombers will hereby bee greatelye augmented, But how shall yt passe through the higher howse [which] will still consiste all of Irishe:

Iren: Marie that also maye wel be redressed by en-sample of that which I [have] hard was done in the like case, by king Edward the thirde as I remember, who beinge greatelye bearded and crossed by the lords of the Clargie they beinge then by reason of the Lord Abbotes and others, too manye and to stronge for them, so he could not for theire frowardnes, order and reforme thinges as he desyred, was advised to dyrecte forth his writtes to certaine gentlemen of best abyllitie and trust, intytlinge them therein Barrons to serue and sytte as Barrons in the next parlament, by which meanes he had so manye barrons in his parlament as were able to weighe downe the Clargie and theire freindes, the which Barrons they saye were not afterwardes Lordes but onelye Barronytes, as soundrie of them doe yett re-taine the name, and by the lyke deuise her maiestie may now likewise curbe and cutt short those Irishe and vn-rulye lordes that hinder all good procedinges:

Eudox: It semeth noe lesse then for reforminge of all those inconvenient statutes which yee noted in the be-gynninge and redressinge of all those evill Customes, and lastlie for settlinge sound relidgion amongst them, me thinckes yee shall not need any more to overgoe those partyculers againe, which yow mencioned, nor any other which might besydes bee remembred, But to leaue all to the reformacion of such parlament, in which by the good care of the Lord Deputie, and Coun-sell they maye all be amended, Therefore now yow may

come to that generall reformacion which you spake of, and bringing in of all that establishment, by which yow said all men should bee Contayned in duetye ever after: without the Terror of warlike forces, or vyolente wresting of thinges by sharpe punishment

Iren: I will so, at your pleasure, the which mee semes by noe meanes can bee better plotted, then by ensample of such other Realmes as haue bene annoyed with the lyke evills, that Ireland now is and vseth still to bee, And first in this [our] Realme of England, yt is manifest by reporte of the Cronicles and other ancyent wryters, that yt was greatlie infected with robbers and owtlawes which lurked in woodes and fast places, whence they vsed oftentymes to breake forth into the high waies, and sometimes into small village s to robb and spoyle, for redresse whereof yt is wrytten, that Kinge Allured or Alfryde who then raigned did deuide the realme into shyres, and the shyres into hundredes, [and the hundredes] into Rapes or Wapentackes, and Wapentackes into Tythinges, so that tenn tythinges made a hundred, and fyve made a layth or weapontacke, of which tenn each one was bound for another, And the eldest or best of them whom they called the Tythingman or Borrougholder, that is the eldest pledge, became suertye for all the rest, so that yf any one of them did starte into any vndewtifull action, the burrow holder was bound to bringe him forth, who Ioyninge eftesoones with all his tythinge would followe the loose person through all places tyll they brought him in, and yf all that tythinge fayled, all the Laythe was charged for the Tythinge, and yf that they fayled, then all the hundred was demaunded for them, and yf the hundred

then the shire, who Ioyninge eftsones altogeather would not rest till they had found out and deliuered in, that vnlawfull fellowe, which was not ameaneable to lawe, and herein yt semed that good Saxon kinge followed the Counsell of Iethro, to Moses, who aduised him to deuide the people into hundredes, and to sett Captaines and wysemen of trust over them which should take the charge of them, and ease him of that burthen, and so did Romulus, as yow may read deuide the Romaines into trybbes, and the Tribbes into Centuryes or hun- dredes, by this ordynance the king brought this Realme of England, which before was most trobleſome [vnto that quiet state] that noe one badd person could styrr, but that he was streight taken hould of by those of his owne tything and theire burrowholder who beinge his neighbors or next kynsman was privie to all his wayes, and loked narrowlie vnto his lyfe the which instytution yf yt were obserued in Ireland, would worke that effect which it did then in England, and kepe all men within the Compasse of duetie and obedyence:

E*udox:* This is contrarie to that yow said before, for as I remember [ye said] there was, a great disproportion betwene England and Ireland so as the lawes which were fyttinge of the one, would not fytte the other, how comes yt then now that ye would transferr a principall institution from England to Ireland:

I*ren:* This lawe was made not by a Norman conqueror, but by a Saxon kinge, beinge at what tyme England was verie like to Ireland, as now yt standes, For yt was [as] I tould yow annoyed greatlie with robbers and owt- lawes, which troubld the whole [state of the] realme euerye Corner havinge in yt a Robbine hood that kepte

the woodes and spoyled all passengers and inhabytantes as Ireland now hath, so as mee seemeth this ordynance would fytte verie well and bringe them all into awe:

E*udox:* Then when yow haue thus Tythed the Comonaltie as yow saye and [set] burrowholders over them all, what would yee doe when ye Come to the gentlemen, would yow hould the same Course:

I*ren:* Yea marie most speciallie for this yow must knowe, that all the Irishe almost, boste them selues to bee gentlemen, noe lesse then the Welch men for yf he can deryve him self from the heade of a septe, as most of them can, they are [soe] expert by theire Bardes, then he holdeth him self a gentleman, and therevpon scorneth eftsoones to worke or vse any handy labor, which he sayth is the lyfe of a peazante or Churle, but thensforth eyther becometh a horseboy or a stocage to some kearne, envring him self to his weapon, and to his gentlemanly trade of stealinge [(as they Count yt)] so that if a gentleman or any worthie yeoman of them haue any Children, the eldest perhapps shalbe kepte in some order, but all the rest shall shifte for them selues and fall to this occupation, and yt is a Common vse amongst some of there best gentlemens sonns, that so sone as they are able to vse there weapons, they straight geather to them selues straglers or kearnes, with whom wandring a while idelye vpp and downe the countrie, takeing onelye meate he at last falleth into some badd occasion that shalbe offreed which being once made knowen he is thensforth counted a man of worth in whom theire is Courrage, wherevpon there drawe to him manye other like loose yonge men, which styrring him vpp with en-

corragement provoke him shortelie to flatt rebellyon, and this happens not onely in the sonns of gentlemen, but oftentymes also of theire noblemen, speciallye theire base borne sonns as there are fewe without some of them, for they are not ashamed [not] onelye to acknowledge them, but also boste of them and vse them in such se-crete services, as they them selues will not bee sene in, as to plauge there enymies, spoyle there neighbors to op-resse [and crushe] some of his owne, to stubborne fre-holders which are not tractable to theire badd wills, twoe such bastardes of the Lord Roches, they are now out in Mounster whom hee doth not onelye Counten-ance but also privilie maintaine and releive nightlye amongst his tennantes, such other is there of the Earle of Clancarties in Desmond and many others in many other places:

E*udox:* Then yt semeth that this ordynance of tythinge them by the pole, ys not onelye fytte for the gentlemen but also for the noblemen, whom I would haue thought to haue bene [of] so honorable myndes as that they should not need such a base kynde of lyvinge, beinge bound to theire allegeance, [whoe] should rather haue held in and stayed all others from vndutyfullnes, then need to bee forced therevnto them selues:

I*ren:* Yett so yt is E*udox:* but yett because the noble-men cannot bee tythed there beinge not manye tyth-inges in them, and also because a Borrowe holder over them should not onelye be a greate indignitie but also a danger to add more power to them then they haue, or to make one the Commaunder of Tenn I hould yt meete that there were onelie sewerties taken of them and one bound for another whereby yf any shall swarue his

sewerties shall for saifgard of theire bandes bringe him Inn, or seeke to serue vpon him, And besydes [this] I would wishe them all to bee sworne to her maiestie, which they neuer yett were but at the first creation, and that oath would sure containe them in dewtie greatelye or the breach of yt bringe them to shorter vengeance, for God vseth to punishe periurie sharplie So I read in the raigne of Edward the second and also of Henrie the vij when the tymes were verie broken that there was a Corporate Oath taken of all the Lordes and best gentlemen of Fealtie to the Kinge, which now is noe lesse needfull because many of them are suspected to haue taken another oathe privilie to some badd purpose, and therevpon they haue receyved the sacrament and bene sworne to a Preist which they thincke byndeth them more then theire alleageance to theire Prince or loue of theire Countrye:

E*udox:* This tythinge of the common people and taking sewerties of Lordes and gentlemen I like verie well, but that yt wilbe verie troblesome, should yt not bee aswell to haue them all booked and the Lordes and gentlemen to take all [the] meaner sorte vpon them selues for they are best able to bringe them in whensoever any of them starteth out:

I*ren:* This indeed E*udox:* hath bene hitherto and yett is a common order amongst them to haue all thee people booked by the Lordes and gentlemen, but yt is the worst order that ever was deuised, for by this bookinge of men, all the inferior sorte are brought vnder thee comaund of theire Lordes and forced to followe them into any action whatsoever, Now this yee are to vnderstand that all the rebellyons which yee see from tyme to

tyme happen in Ireland, are not begunn by the Common people but by the Lordes and Captaines of Countries vpon pride or wilfull obstynacie [againste the gouerment] which whensoever they will enter into they drawe with them all theire people, and followers which thincke them selues bound to goe with them, because they haue booked them and vndertaken for them and this is the reason that yow haue fewe such badd occasions here in England, by reason that the Noble men how ever they should happen to be evill disposed haue noe commaund at all over the Comonaltye, though dwellinge vnder them, because euerie man standeth vpon him self, and buildeth his fortunes vpon his owne faith and firme assurance, The which this manner of Tythinge the Powles will worke also in Ireland, for by this thee people are broken into many small partes like little streames that they cannot easelye come togeather into one head which is the principall regard that is to bee had in Ireland, to kepe them from growinge into such a heade and adheringe vnto greate men:

Eudox: But yett I cannot well see how this can bee brought about without doinge greate wronge vnto the noblemen there, for at the Conquest of the Realme those greate Signiories and Lordshipps were gyven them by the kinge, that they should bee the stronger against the Irishe by the multitude of Followers and tennantes vnder them, All which hold theire Tenementes of them by Fealtie and such services whereby they are by the first grante of the kinge made bound vnto them, and tyed to ryse out with them vpon all occasions of service, and this I haue often heard that when

the Lord [Deputie] haue raysed any generall Ostinges, The noble men haue clamed the leadinge of them by grante from the Kinges of England vnder the great seale exhibyted, so as the deputie would not refuse them to haue the leadinge of them or yf he did they would so worke as none of theire followers should ryse forth to the Ostinge:

Iren: Yee saye verie true but will ye see [the] fruite of these grantes, I haue knowen when those Lordes haue had the Leadinge of theire owne followers vnder them to the generall Ostinge, that they haue for the same cutt vpon everie plowland [within their Cuntrye] forty shillinges or more whereby some of them haue gathered aboue vij or viijC*l* and others much more into theire purse, in lewe whereof they haue gathered vnto them selues, a nomber of loose kerne out of all partes, which they haue Carryed forth with them to whom they never gaue penny of entertainement, allowed by the Countrie or forced by them, but lett them feed vpon the Countries, [and] extorte vpon all men where they can, for that people will never aske better entertainement, then to haue a Coullor of service or imployment geven them, by which they will powle and spoile so outragiouslie that as the verie Enemy cannot doe much worse and besydes turne them selues to the Enemy:

Eudox: It seemes the first intent of those grantes was against the Irishe which now some of them vse against the Quene her self, But now what remedye is there for this or how can these grantes of the kinges bee avoyded without wronging of those lordes which had those landes and Lordshipps geven them.

Iren: suerlie thaie may be well anoughe for most of

those Lordes sence ther first grantes from the kinges by whome those landes ware gyven them haue sethence bestowed the most part of them emonste ther kinsfolkes as euerie lord perhapps in his tyme haith geven one or another of his princippall castles to his yonger sonnes and other to others as larglie and as amplie as thay ware geven to him and others thay haue sould and others bought which ware not in ther first grantes which nowe neuer the less thay bring within the compas therof and take and exact vppon them as ther first demeanes all those kynd of services Yea and the verie wilde Irish exactions as Cognie & Liuerie Sorehin and such like by which thay pole and vtterlie vndowe the poore tenantes & frehoulders vnder them which ather through ignorance knowe not ther tennors or through greatnes of ther newe lordes dare not chaleng them, yea and some lordes of contries allsoe as great ones as them selves ar nowe by stronge hand brought vnder them and maid ther vassalls as for example Arundell of the strand in the countie of Corck whoe was auncyantlie a great Lord and able to spend 3500*li* by the yeare as appeareth by good Recordes is nowe becom the lord Barries man and dooth to him all those servicis which ar due vnto her maiestie, for reformacion of [all] which [I wishe] that theire were a Comission granted forth vnder the greate seale as I haue sene one recorded in the old Counsell booke in Mounster, yt was sent forth in the tyme of Sir Willyam Drewrie vnto persons of speciall trust and iudgment to enquire throughout all Ireland begynninge in one countie first, and so restinge awhile vntill the same were setled by the verdicte of [a] sound and substanciall iurye how euerie man holdeth his landes, of

whom and by what tennor, so that euerie one should bee admitted to showe and exhibyte what righte he hath, and by what seruices he holdeth his land, whether in Cheif in Soccage or in Knight seruice, or [howe] ells soeuer, ther vpon would appere first, how all those greate Englishe Lordes doe clame those greate services, what signories they vsurpe, what wardshipps they take from the Quene, what landes of hers they conceale and then how those Irishe Captaines [of Cuntryes] haue encroched vpon the Quenes Freholders, and tennantes, how they haue translated the tennors of them from Englishe holdinge into Irishe Tanistry and defeated her maiestie of all her rightes and dueties, which are to accrew to her thereout, as Wardshipps Lyveries marryages, and fynes of Alyenacions with many other commodyties, which now are kepte and conceald from her maiestie to the vallue of 60 000*l* yerelye, I dare vndertake in all Ireland by that which I knowe in one Countye:

E*udox:* This I*ren:* would seme a dangerous Comission and reddye to styrr vpp all the Irish [into Rebellion] who knowinge that they haue nothing to show for all those landes which they hould, but theire swordes would, rather drawe them, then suffer theire landes to bee thus drawen awaye from them:

I*ren:* Neither should theire landes be taken awaye from them, nor the vttermost advantages enforced against them, but this by the discression of the Comissioners should bee made knowen vnto them, that yt is not her maiesties meaninge to vse any such extremitie but onelye to reduce thinges into order of Englishe lawe and make them hold there landes of her maiestie, and

restore to her her due seruices which they detaine, out of those landes which were antientelie holden of her, and that they should not onelye [not] bee thrust out, but also haue estates and grantes of theire landes now made to them from her maiestie so as they should thence forth hold them rightfullie which they now vsurpe most wrongefullie, and yett withall I would wishe that in all those Irishe Countries there were some land reserued to her maiesties free disposition, for the better contayninge of the rest and entermedlinge them with English Inhabytantes, and Customes, that knowledge might still bee hadd by them of all theire doinges, so as noe mannor of practize or conspiracye should bee in hande amongst them, but notice should bee gyven thereof by one meanes or another, and there practizes prevented:

E*udox:* Trulye neyther can the Irish nor [yet the] English Lordes thincke them selues wronged or hardlie delte withall herein, to haue that indeed which is none of theire owne at all, but her maiesties absolutlie gyven vnto them with such equall condycions as that both they maye be assured thereof better then they are, and also her maiestie not defrauded of hir right vtterlie, for yt is a greate grace in a prince [to] take that with Condycions which is absolutelie her owne, thus shall the Irishe bee well satisfyed, and as for the greate men which had such grante made them at first by the Kinges of England [it] was in regarde [that] they should kepe out the Irishe and defend the Kinges right and his subiectes, but now seinge that in steade of defendinge them they robb and spoile them, and in steade of keping out the Irishe, they doe not onelie make the Irishe theire ten-

nantes in those landes and thrust out the Englishe, but also they them selfes become mere Irish with marryinge with them, fosteringe with them and combyninge with them against the Quene, what reason but those grantes and priviledges should bee eyther revoked or at least reduced to theire first intencion for which they were granted, for surelye in my opynion they are more sharpe-lie to bee Chastized, and reformed then the rude Irishe, which beinge verie wyld [at the firste] are now become somewhat more Civill, when as these from Civillitie are growen to be wild and mere Irishe:

Iren: Indeed as yee saye *Eudox:* These doe need a sharper reformacion then the verye Irish for they are much more stubborne, and disobedyente to lawe and gouerment then the Irishe bee, and more mallytious [against] the Englishe that dalie are sente over:

Eudox: Is it possible I pray yow how comes yt to passe what might bee the reason thereof,

Iren: Marie they saye that the land is theires onely [by] right beinge first conquered by theire ancytors, and that they are wronged by the Newe Englishe mens intrud-ing thereinto, whom they call *Sassona* that is Englishe with as greate reproch as they would rate a dogg and [for] that some of theire ancyetors were in tymes past when they were Civill and vncorrupted deputies and Iustices of the land, they thincke that the lyke aucthori-tie should bee comitted vnto them, and the charge of the realme lefte in theire handes which for that they see now otherwise disposed, and that trust not gyven them which theire ancyetors had they thincke them selues greatelie endygnified and disgraced thereby,. and so growe both discontented and vndewtifull:

E*udox:* In truth I*renius* this is more then ever I hard that the Englishe Irishe there should bee worse then the wyld Irishe, Lord how quicklie doth that Countrie alter mens natures, It is not for nothing I perceaue that I haue hearde the Counsell of England thincke yt noe good pollycie to haue that realme reformd or planted with Englishe, least they should growe so vnduetifull as the Irishe And become much more dangerous as appereth by the example of [the] Lacyes, in the tyme of Edwarde the second, which yow spake of, that shooke of there allegiance to theire naturall Prince, [and turned to the Scott,] deuisinge to make him kinge of Ireland,:

I*reni:* No tymes haue bene without badd men, but as for that purpose of the Counsell of England which ye speake [of, that] they should kepe the realme from reformation, I thincke they are most lewdlie abused for theire great carefullnes and earnest endeauor doe wytnesse the contrarie, neither is the nature of the countrie to alter a mans manners, but the badd myndes of them who havinge bene brought vpp at home vnder a straight rule of duetie and obedyence, beinge alwayes restrayned by sharpe pennalties, from lewde behavior, so soone as they come thither, where they see lawe so slacklie tended, and the harde [restraintes] which they were vsed vnto now slacked, they growe more loose and carelesse of theire duetie, as yt is the nature of all men to loue libertie, so they become flatt libertynes and fall to flatt lycenciousnesse, more boldlie daringe to disobaye the lawe through presumption, of favor and frindshipp, then any Irishe dare,:

E*udox:* Then yf yt bee soe mee thinckes your late aduisement was verie evill, whereby you wished the

Irishe to be sowed and sprinckled with the English in all the Irish countries to haue English planted amongst them, for to bringe them to Englishe fashions, Since the Englishe bee soner drawen to the Irishe, then the Irishe to the Englishe For as you said before they must runn with the streame the greater [nomber] will carrye awaye the lesse, therefore me semes by this reason, yt should be better to parte the Irishe and Englishe, then [to] mingle them togeather:

Iren: Not so *Eudox* But where there is noe good staye of gouerment and stronge Ordynances to hold them there indeed, the fewer will followe the more But where there is due order of decyplyne and good rule, there the better shall goe formost, and the worse shall followe, And therefore, since Ireland is full of her owne nation, that maye not bee rooted out and somewhat stored with englishe alreadye and more to be I thincke yt best by an vnion of manners and conformitie of myndes, to bringe them to bee one people, and to putt awaye the dislikefull concepte both of the one and the other, which wilbe by noe meanes better then by this entermingelinge of them, that neyther all the Irishe maye dwell togeather, nor all the Englishe, but by translatinge of them, and scattringe them in small nombers, amongst the Englishe, not onelye to bring them by dalye conversation vnto better lykinge of each other, but also to make both of them lesse able to hurte: And therefore when I come to the Tything I will tythe them one with another, and for the most parte will make the Irishe man the Tythingman whereby he shall take the lesse exception to parciallitie, and yett bee the more tyed thereby: But when I come, to the headburrowe which is the heade

of the Lathe him will I make an Englishe man or Irisheman of noe small assurance, As also when I come to appointe the Elderman that is the head of the hun-dred him will I surelie chuse an English man of speciall regard, that maye bee a staye and piller of all the Bur-roughes vnder him:

E*udox:* What doe yow meane by your hundred, and what by your Burrough, by that which I haue redd in ancient recordes of England, an hundred did containe 100 vyllages, or as saye some an C plowlandes being the same which the Saxons, called a Cantred: The which cantred as I fynde recorded in the blacke booke of Ireland, did contayne 30 villatas *terre*, which some call quarters of land, and euerie Villata, can maintaine 400 Cowes in pasture and the 400 Cowes to bee deuid-ed in fower heardes, so as none of them shall come nere another, euerie villata contayneth 17 plowlandes as ys there sett downe, And by that which I haue redd of a Burrough yt signifieth a free towne, which had a princ-ipall offycer, called an head burrough to become ruler and vndertake for all, the dwellers vnder him, havinge for the same franchises and privilidges granted them by the kinge whereof yt was called a free burrough of the lawyer F*ranciplegium:*

I*ren:* Both that which yee said E*udox:* is true, and yett that which I saye not vntrewe, for that which yee speake of deuidinge the Countrie into hundredes was a de-uision of the landes of the realme, But this which I tell was of the people who were thus devyded, by the poll so that an hundred in this sence signifieth, C pledges which were vnder the Comaund and assurance of theire Aldermen, the which as I suppose was also

called a weopontacke, so named of touchinge the wapon or speare of theire Alderman and swearinge to follow him faithfullie and serue theire Prince trulie, But others, thincke that a weopontacke was 10 hundredes or Burroughes, likewise a Burrough as I here vse yt, and as the old lawes still vsed yt is not a Burrough Towne as they now call yt, that is a franchise Towne but a mayne pledge of C free persons therefore called a freeburrough or (as ye saye) *Franciplegium* for Borth in ould Saxon signifiethe a pledge or suertie, and yt yett is so vsed [with vs] in some speaches, as *Chaucer* saythe St Iohn to Barrow that is for assurance and warrantie:

E*udox:* I conceaue the difference but now that ye haue thus deuided the people into those tythinges and hun-dredes how will ye haue them so preserued and contyn-ewed, for people doe [often chaunge their Dwellinges and some must dye whilste other some doe] growe [vpp] into strength of yeares and become men

I*ren:* These hundredes I would [wishe] to assemble them selues once euerie yeare with theire pledges, and to presente them selues before the Iustices of the peace which shalbe therevnto appointed, to bee survayed and nombred, to see what change hath happened since the yeare before, and the defectes, to supplye of those yonge plantes late growen vpp which are deligentlye to bee ouerlooked and veiwed, of what Condycion and de-meanour they bee, so as pledges may bee taken for them, and they putt into order of some tything of all which alteracions, note is to bee taken and bookes made there-of accordinglie:

E*udox:* Now mee thinckes I*renius* ye are to be warned to take good heed, least vnawarrs ye fall into the incon-

veniencies which yow formerlie found faulte with in others, namely that by this boking of them yow doe not gather them into a newe head, and having broken theire former strength, doe not againe vnite them more stronglie, for euery Alderman havinge all his freepledges of his hundred, vnder his Comaund, may mee thinckes, yf he bee yll disposed, drawe all his Companye into any evill action and lykwise by this assemblinge of them once a yeare vnto there Alderman by theire weapontackes take head least ye also giue them occasion and meanes to practize any harme in any conspiracye:

I*ren:* Neither of both is to bee dubted, for the Elderman and headburrowes will not bee such men of power and countenance of them selues being to bee chosen therevnto, as need to bee feared, neyther yf hee were, is his hundred at his comaund further then his princes service, and also euerie tythingman maye controll him in such a Casse and as for the assemblinge of the hundred much lesse is any danger thereof to bee doubted seeinge yt is before a Iustice of peace or some high Constable to bee therevnto appointed, so as of those Tythinges there can noe perill ensewe, but a certaine assurance of peace and great good for they are thereby withdrawen from theire lordes and subiected to theire Prince, Moreover for the breakinge of these heades and septes which I told yow was one of the greatest strengthes of the Irishe, me thinckes yt should doe verie well to renewe that old Statute that was made in the raigne of Edwarde the iiijth in England, By which yt was Comaunded, that whereas all men then vsed to be called by the name of theire septes according to there seuerall

nations and hadd noe surnames at all, that from thence-forthe each one should take vnto him self a seuerall surname eyther of his trade or facultie or of some quallitie of his bodye or mynde, or of the place where he dwelte, so as everie one should bee distinquished from other or from the most parte whereby they shall not onelye not depend vpon the head of theire sept as now they doe, but also shall in shorte tyme learne quite to forgette his Irishe nation and herewithall would I also wishe, all the Oes and the mackes which the heades of septes haue taken to theire names to bee vtterlye forbydden and extinguished, for that the same beinge an old manner (as some sayth) first made by Obrin for the strengtheninge of the Irishe, the abrogating thereof will asmuch enfeeble them

E*udox:* I lyke this ordynance verie well, but now that yow haue thus deuided and distinguished them what other order will yow take for there manner of lyfe, for all this though perhapps yt maye kepe them from dissobedyence and disloyaltie, yet will yt not bringe them from theire barborisme and salvage lyfe

I*ren:* The next that I will doe shalbe to appoint to euerie one that is not able to lyve of his frehold a certaine trade of lyfe to which he shall fynde him self fyttest and shalbe thought ablest, the which trade he shalbe bound to followe and lyve onelye therevpon, All trades therefore ys to be vnderstood to bee of three kyndes, Mannuell intellectuall and mixed, the one Contayninge all such as need the exercyse of bodelie labour to the performance of theire profession, the other consistinge onelye of the exercyse of witt and reason, the thirde parte of bodelye labour and parte of the wytt, but de-

pending of Industrye and Carefulnes, Of the first sorte bee all handyecraftes and husbandrie labour, of the second bee all scyences and those which are called the liberrall Artes, of the third is marchandrie and chaffꞌerye, that is buyinge and sellinge, And without all these three there is noe Comon wealth can almost conꞌsist or at the least be perfect, But that wretched Realme of Ireland wanteth the most principall of them, that is the Intellectuall, Therefore in sekinge to reforme her estate yt is speciallie to bee looked vnto, But Because of husbandrye which supplyeth vnto vs all thinges necesꞌsarie for food whereby wee cheifelye lyve, therefore it is first to be prouided for The first thinge then that wee are to drawe, these newe tythed men vnto ought to be husbandrie, first because yt is the most easie to bee learnꞌed, nedinge onelie the labour of the bodye, next beꞌcause yt is most [generall and most needfull, then beꞌcause yt is most] naturall, and lastlie because yt is most enemye to warr and most hateth vnquietnesse, as the Poett sayth, *Bella execrata Colonis,* For husbandrye beꞌinge the Nurse of thrifte and the daughter of Industrie, and labour detesteth all that may worke her scathe and distroye the travell of her handes, whose hope is all her lyves comforte Vnto the plough, therefore are all those Kearne Stochas and horseboyes to bee driven and made to imploye that ablenesse of bodye which they wonte to vse to thefte and villanye henceforth to labour and husꞌbandrie, In the which by that tyme they haue spent but a lyttle paine, they will find such swetenes and happye Contentment, that they will hardlie afterwardes be hayled awaye from yt or drawne to theire wonted lewde lyfe in theiferie and rogerie, and beinge this once enterꞌ

red therevnto they are not onelie to be countenanced and encorraged by all good meanes, but also provided that theire children after them maye bee brought vpp lykewise in that same and succeed in the romes of theire fathers, To which end there is a statute in Ireland all readye well prouided which comaundeth that all the sonnes of husbandmen shalbe trayned vpp in theire fathers trade, but yt is god wote verie slenderlie loked vnto:

E*udox:* But doe yow not counte in this trade of husbandrie pasturinge of Cattell and kepinge of theire Cowes, for that is reckoned as a parte of husbandrie:

I*ren:* I knowe yt is and needfullie to be vsed, but I doe not meane to allowe any of these able bodies which are able to vse bodelie labour, to followe a fewe Cowes, grasinge, but such impotente persons as being vnable for stronge travell, are yet able to driue Cattell to and fro the pasture, For this keping of Cowes ys of yt self a verie Idle lyfe and a fytt nurserie for a theif: For which cause yee remember I disliked the Irish manner of kepinge of Bollies in sommer vpon the mountaine and lyvinge after that salvage sorte But yf they will algates feed many Cattle or kepe them on the mountaines, lett them make some townes nere to the mountaines syde where they maye dwell togeather with neigbors and bee conversant in the veiwe of the world, And to saye truth though Ireland bee by nature counted a greate soyle of pasture, yett had I rather haue fewer Cowes kept and men better mannred, then to haue such huge increase of Cattell, and noe increase of good Condycions, I would therefore wishe that there were some ordynance made amongst them, that whatsoeuer kepeth 20 kien

should kepe a plough goinge, for otherwise all men would fall to pasturaige, and none to husbandrie, which is a great cause of this dearth, now in England, and a cause of the vsuall stealthes nowe in Ireland, for looke into all Countries that lyve in such sorte by kep-inge of Cattle, and yow shall fynde that they are [bothe] verie barbarous and vncyvill and also greatlie geven to warr, The Tartarians the Muscovites, the Norwayes, the *Gotes*, the Armenians and many other doe wytnes the same And therefore since now wee purpose to drawe the Irishe, from desyre of warrs and tumultes to the loue of peace and Civillitie, It is expedient to abridge, theire [greate] Custome of heardinge and augment theire more trade of tillinge and husbandrie, as for other oc-cupations and trades they neeed not to be enforced to, but euerye man bound onelie to followe [one] that he thinckes him self aptest for, For other trades of Arty-ficers wilbe occupyed for verie necessitie and constrayn-ed vse of them, And so likewise will marchandize for the gaine thereof, But learning and bringinge vpp in liberrall scyences will not come of yt self but must bee drawen on with straight lawes and ordynances, And therefore yt were meete that such an acte were ordayned That all the sonnes of Lordes and gentlemen and such others as are able to bringe them vpp in Learninge, should be traynd vpp herein from theire Childhoodes, And for that end euerie parishe should bee forced to keepe one Pettie scolemaster, adioyninge vnto the parishe churche to bee the more in veiwe, which should bringe vpp theire children in the first rudymentes of lettres, and that in euerie Countrie or Barronrye they should kepe another able scolemaster, which should in-

struct them in grammer, and in the principles of scyences to whom they should be compelled to send theire youthe to bee discyplined, whereby they will in shorte time growe vpp to that Civill conversation, that both the children will loathe the former rudnesse in which they were bredd, and also there parence will even by thensample of there yonge Children, perceaue the fowlenes of theire owne brutishe behauior compared to theirs, For learninge hath that wonderfull power of yt self that yt can soften and temper the most stearne and salvage nature:

E*udox:* Surelie I am of your mynd that nothinge will bringe them from there vncyvell life soner then learninge and discipline, next after the knowledge and feare of god, And therefore I doe still expect that yee should come therevnto and sett some order for reformacion of religion which is first to bee respected accordinge to the sayinge of Christ first seeke the kingdome of heaven and the righteousnesse thereof:

I*ren:* I haue in mynde so to doe, But lett me I pray you first fynishe that which I had in hand, wherby all the ordynances which shall afterwardes bee sett for religion may abyde the more firmelie and bee obserued more deligentelie, Now that this people is thus tythed and ordred and euerie one bound vnto some honest trade of lyfe which shalbe particulerlie entred and sett downe in [the] Tythinge bookes, yett perhapps there wilbe some straglers and runnagates which will not of them selues come in and yeild them selues to this order, And yett after the well fynishinge of the presente warr, and establishinge of the garrisons in all stronge places of the Countrie where there wounted refuge was most, I sup-

pose there will fewe stande out, or yf they doe they will shortelie bee brought in by the eares: But yett afterwardes least any one of these should swarue or any that is tyed to a trade should afterwardes not followe the same according to this Institution, but should stragle vpp and downe the Countrye or myche in Corners amongst there freindes, idlye as Carrowes and Bardes Iesters and such lyke, I would wishe that there were a provost marshall appointed in euerie shire which should contynewallie walke through the Countrie with half dozen or half a score, horsemen to take vpp such loose persons as they should finde thus wandring, whom he should punishe by his owne aucthoritie with such paines as the persons should seme to deserue, for yf he bee but once so taken ydelye roginge he maye punishe him more lightlie as with stockes or such like, But yf he bee found againe so loytring he maye scourge him with whipps or roddes, After which if hee bee againe taken lett him haue the bitternes of the marshall lawe likewise yf any rellickes of the old rebbellion bee found by him, that eyther haue not come in and submitted them selues, to the lawe, or that havinge once come in doe breake forth againe or walke disorderlie, let them taist of the same cupp in godes name for yt was due to them for theire first guilte, and now beinge revived by theire latter loosenes, lett them haue theire first deserte, as now beinge found vnfytt to lyve in a common wealth:

E*udox:* This were a good manner, but mee thinckes yt is an vnnecessarie charge and also vnfytte to contynewe the name or forme of any marshall law when as there is a proper officer alreadye appointed for these turnes, to witte the sherif of the shire whose perticular

offyce yt is to walke contynewallie vpp and downe, his Balliwicke as yee would haue a marshall to snatch vpp all those Runnagates and vnprofitable members, and to bringe them to his gaole to bee punished for the same, therefore this maye wel be spared:

Iren: Not so mee semes for though the sherif haue that aucthoritie vpon him self to take vpp all such straglers and ymprison them, yett shall he not doe so much good nor worke that terror in the hartes of them, that a marshall will, whom they shall knowe to haue power of life and death, in such Caises & speciallie to bee appointed for them: neither doth yt hinder, but that though yt pertaine, to the sherife, [the sherife] maye doe therein, what he can, and yett the marshall maye walke his course besides, for both of them maye doe the more good and more terrefie the Idle rogue, knowinge that thoughe he haue a watche vpon the one yett he maye light vpon the other, but this proviso is needfull to bee had in this case, that the sherif maye not haue the like power of life as the marshall hathe, and as heretofore they haue bene accustomed, for yt is dangerous to giue power of life into the handes of him which maye haue bennefyte by the parties death, As yf the said loose lyver haue anye goodes of his owne the sherif is to seize thervpon whereby yt hath commen ofte to passe that some who haue not perhapps deserued iudgement of deathe though otherwise perhapps offendinge, haue bene for theire goodes sake caught vpp and carried streight to the bough, A thinge indeed pyttifull and verie horrible, Therefore by noe meanes would I wishe the Sherif to haue such aucthoritie, nor yett to ymprison thât loosell till the Sessions, for so all gaols might soone bee fylled,

but to send him to the marshall who eftsones fynding him faultie shall gyve him meete Correction and rydd him away forthwith:

E*udox:* I doe nowe perceaue your reason well, but come wee now to that whereof wee earst spake I meane to religion and religious men, what order will yow sett amongst them:

I*ren:* For religion little haue I to saye my self, beinge (as I sayd) not professed therein, and yt self beinge but one, so as there is but one waye therein, for that which is true onelie is and the rest are not at all, yett in plantinge of religion thus much is needfull to bee obserued that it be not sought forceablie to bee ympressed into them with terror and sharpe pennalties, as now is the manner, but rather deliuered and intimated with myldnes and gentlenes, so as yt maye not bee hated before yt bee vnderstood and theire professors dispised and reiected, for this I knowe that the most of the Irishe are so farr from vnderstanding of the popishe religion as they are of the protestantes profession, and yett doe they hate yt, thoughe vnknowen, even for the verie hatred which they haue of the Englishe and theire gouerment, Therefore yt is expediente, that some discreet ministers of theire owne Countrymen bee first sent amongst them which by theire myld perswasions and instruccions as also by theire sober lyf and Conversation maye drawe them, first to vnderstand and afterwardes to imbrace the Doctrine of theire salvacion, For yf that the ancyent godlie fathers [which firste Converted them beinge infidells to the Faithe,] were able to drawe them from infidelitie and pagansie [to the true beliefe in Christe as St P*atrick* and St C*olumb*] how much more [easilie

shall] godlie teachers bringe them to the true vnderstanding of that which they alreadye professe, wherein yt is great wonder to see the oddes, which is betwene the zeale of Popish preistes and ministers of the gospell for they spare not to come out of Spaine from Rome from Reames by longe toyle and dangerous travell hether, where they knowe perill of deathe awayteth them and noe rewarde nor Ritches, is to bee found onelye to drawe the people to the church of Rome, whereas our Idle ministers havinge a waye for Credyte and estymacion thereby opened vnto them, and havinge the lyvinges of the Countrie offred them, without paines without perill will neither for the same, nor for any loue of god nor zeale of religion, nor for all the good which they mighte doe, by wynninge of so manye soules to god be drawen forthe from theire warme nestes, and theire sweete loues syde to looke out into godes harvest which is even readye for the sickle, and all the feyldes yallowe longe agoe, Doubtlesse these good ould godlie fathers will I feare mee ryse vpp in the daye of Iudgment to condempe them:

E*udox:* Surelie yt is great pittie I*renius*, that there are none chosen out of the ministers of England good and sober discrete men which might bee sent over thither to teach and instructe them, and that theire is not asmuch care had of theire soules as of theire bodies, for the Care of both lyeth vpon the Prince:

I*ren:* Were there never somanye sent ouer they should doe small good till one ennormitie bee taken awaye, from them that is, that both they be restrayned from sendinge theire yonge men abroad to other vniuersities beyond seas as Reymes, D*ouay*, Lovayne and the lyke,

andthat others from abroad be restrayned from Cominge to them for they lurkinge secretlie in theire howses and in Corners of the Countrie doe more hurte and hinderance to religion with theire private perswasions then all the others can doe good with theire publicke instruccion, And though for these later theire bee a good statute there ordayned, yet the same is not executed and as for the former, there is noe lawe nor order for theire restrainte at all:

E*udox:* I marvaile that yt is noe better looked vnto, And not onelye this, but also that which I remember yow mencioned in your abuses concerninge the profyttes and revenewes of the landes of fugytiues in Ireland, which by pretence of Certaine coullorable conveyances, are sente contynewallie ouer vnto them to the comfortinge of them and others against her maiestie, for which here in England there is good order taken, and why not then aswell in Ireland, for though theire be noe statute there yet enacted therfore, yett might her maiestie by her onelye prerogatiue seize the fruites and profittes of those fugitiues landes into her handes till they came over to testifie there trewe alleigeance

I*ren:* Indeed she might so doe, but the Combrous tymes doe perhapps hinder the regard thereof and of many other good intencions:

E*udox:* But whie did they not mynde yt in peacable tymes

I*ren:* leaue wee that to theire graue Consideracions, but proceed wee forward, next Care in religion is to build vpp and repaire all the Ruind Churches whereof the most parte lye even with the ground, and some [that] haue bine latelie repayred are so [vnhandsomelye]

patched and thatched that men doe even shune the places for the vncomelines thereof, Therefore I would wishe that there were order taken to haue them builte in some better forme accordinge to the Churches of England, for the owtward showe, assure your self doth greatlie drawe the rude people to the reuerencinge and frequenting thereof, And what euer some of our [late] too nyce fooles saye, there is nothinge in the semelie forme and comelie order of the churche, And for so kepinge and contynewinge them theyre should likewise church wardens of the gravest men in the parishe bee appointed as there bee here in England, which should take the yearelie charge both hereof and also of the scholehowses which I wished to be builded nere to the said Churches for maintenance of both which yt were meete that some seuerall porcion of land were allotted seinge noe more mortmaines are to bee looked for:

E*udox:* Indeed mee semes yt would bee so convenient But when all is done how will yow haue your churches serued or your ministers maintayned [since the livinges (as yowe said) are not sufficient scarse to make them a gowne muche lesse to yeild meete maintenance] accordinge to the dignitie of theire degree:

I*ren:* There is noe waye to helpe that but to laye 2 or 3 of them togeather vntill such tyme as the countrie growe more ritch and better inhabited At which tymes the tythes and other obvencions will also bee more augmented and better valewed, But now that we haue thus gone through all that theire sortes of trades and sett a course for theire god establishment; lett vs yf yow please goe next to some other needfull pointes of other publicke matters, noe lesse concerninge the good of the

Comon wealth, though but accydentallie dependinge on the former, And first I wishe that order were taken for the cuttinge downe and opening of all paces through woodes, so that a wyde way of the space of C yerdes might bee layd open in euerie of them for the saiftye of travellers, which vse often in such perillous places to bee robbed and sometimes murthered, Next that Bridges were builte vpon all Ryvers, and all the foordes marred and spylte, so as none might passe any other waies but by those bridges, and euerie bridge to haue a gate, and a small gatehowse sett thereon, whereof this good will come that noe night stealthes, which are comomlie dryven in by wayes and by blynde fordes vnvsed of any, but such lyke must be conveyed out of one Countrie into another as they vse, but that they must passe by those bridges where they maye bee eyther happelie encountred or easelye tracked or not suffred to passe at all by meanes of those gatehowses thereon Also that in all streightes and narrowe passages as betwene twoe bogges or through any deepe Foorde or vnder any mountaine syde, there should bee some lyttle fortilage or wooden Castle, sett which should kepe and Commaund that streight, Whereby any Rebells that should come in the Countrie mighte bee stopped, the waye, or passe with greate perill: Moreover that all high wayes should bee fenced and shutt vpp on both sydes leavinge onelye fortie foote bredthe for passage, so as noneshould beeabletopassebut through the high waye, whereby theeves and night robbers might bee the more easelie pursued, and encountred when there shalbe noe other waye to dryve theire stollen Cattell, but therein as I formerlie declared: Further that theire should in son-

drie conveniente places by the high wayes bee Townes appointed to bee builte the which should bee free burrowes & Incorporate vnder Baliffes, to bee by theire inhabytantes well and strongelie entrenched or otherwise fenced with gates at each syde thereof to bee shutt nightlie lyke as there is in manie places in the Englishe pale, and all the wayes about yt to bee strongelie shutt vpp, so that none should passe but through those Townes, To some of which yt were good that the privilidge of a markette were gyven, the rather to strengthen and enable them, to theire defence, For nothinge doth sooner cause Civillitie in any Countrie, then many markett townes by reason that people reparinge often thither for theire needes will dalie see and learne Civill manners of the better sorte, Besides theire is nothinge doth more staye and strengthen the Countrie, then such Corporate Townes as by proof in manye Rebellions hath bene proued In all which when the Countries haue swarved the Townes haue stood stiffe and fast, and yeilded good releif to the soldyors in all occasions of service, And lastlie there doth nothing more enriche the Countrie or Realme then manye townes, for to them will all people drawe and bringe the fruite of theire trades, aswell to make mony of them as to supplye theire needfull vses, and the Countrimen will also bee the more industryous in tillage, and rearinge all husbandrie Comodities, knowinge they shall haue readye saile for them at those townes And in all those Townes should theire Convenient Inns be erected, for the lodginge and harboringe of all travellers, whoe are nowe oftentymes spoyled by lodging abroad in weake thatch howses for want of such saif places to shrowde them selues in:

Eudox: But what profytte shall your market Townes reape of theire market, Whereas eache one may sell theire Corne and Cattell abroad in the Countrie and make theire secrete bargaines amongst them selues as now I vnderstand they vse

Iren: Indeed *Eudox:* They doe so and thereby noe small inconvenience doth aryse to the Comon Wealthe, for now when any one hath stollen a Cowe or a garron he maye secretlie sell yt in the Countrie without privitie of any Whereas yf he brought yt into the market towne yt would perhapps bee knowen, and the theif discouered, Therefore yt were good that a straight ordynance were made that none should buy or sell any Cattell but in some open markett, (there beinge nowe market townes euerie where at hand) vpon a great pennaltie neither should they likewise buy any Corne to sell the same againe, vnlesse yt were to make malte thereof, for by such engrossing and regratinge wee see the darthe that now Comonlye raigneth here in England to haue bene caused here vnto, Also is to be added that good ordynance which I remember was once proclamed throughout all Ireland, that all men should marke theire Cattell with an open seuerall marke vpon theire flanckes or buttockes, so as yf they happened to bee stollen they might appere whose they were, and they which should buy them mighte thereby suspecte the owner and bee warned to abstaine from buyinge of them of a suspected person with such an vnknowen marke,

Eudox: Surelie these ordinances seme verie expedient, but especiallie that, of free townes, of which I wounder that there is such small store in Ireland and that in the

first peopling and planting thereof they were neglected and omitted

Iren: They were not omitted, for theire were through all places of the Countrie convenient, manye good townes seated which through that Invndacion of the Irishe which I first tould [you] of, were vtterly wasted and defaced of which the Ruins are yett in manye places to bee seene and of some noe signe at all remayninge save onelye there bare names, but theire seates are not to bee found:

Eudox: But how then cometh yt to passe that they haue neuer since recouered, nor theire habytacion bene reedyfied as of the rest, which haue bene noe lesse spoyled and waisted:

Iren: The cause thereof was for that after theire desolacion they were beggd by gentlemen of the kinges vnder coullors to repaire them and gather the power Relikes of the people againe togeather, of whom havinge obtayned them they were so farr from reedyfying of them as that by all meanes they haue endeavored to kepe them waste, least that beinge repaired theire Charters maye bee renewed and their burgesses restored to theire landes which they had now in theire possession, Much like as in those old monumentes of Abbeys and relegious howses wee see them lykewise vse to doe: For which cause yt is iudged that King Henrie the viij bestowed them vpon them knowing that thereby they should neuer bee able to ryse againe, And even so doe those Lordes in those old poore corporate townes of which I could name yow dyverse, but for kyndlinge of displeasure: therfore as I wished many Corporate townes to bee erected, so would I againe, wishe them to

bee free not dependinge vpon the service, nor vnder the Comaundment of any but the Gouernor, And beinge so they will both strengthen all the Countrie round about them, which by theire meanes wilbee the better replenished and enriched, and also bee as contynewall holdes for her maiestie, yf the people should revolte and breake out againe, for without it is easye to forrey and ouerronne the whole lande, Lett bee for example all those free burroughes in the lowe Countries, which are now all the strengthe thereof, These and other like ordynances, might bee deliuered for the good establishment of that realme, after it is once subdued and reformed in which yt might bee afterwardes verie easelie kept and maintayned with small Care of the gouernor & concell there appointed, so as that yt should in shorte space yeild a plentifull revenewe, to the crowne of England, which now doth but sucke and consume the Threasurye thereof through those vnsound plottes and changefull orders which are dalye deuised for her good, yett neuer effectuallye prosecuted or performed:

E*udox:* But in all this your discourse, I haue not marked any thinge by yow spoken, towchinge the appointment of the principall offycer to whom ye wishe the Charge and performance of all this to be Comitted, onely, I obserued some fowle abuses by yow noted in some of the late gouernors, the reformacion whereof yow lefte for this presente tyme:

I*ren:* I delight not to laye open the blames of so great maiestrates to the rebuke of the world, and therefore theire reformacion I will not meddle with, but leaue vnto the wisdome of greater heades to be considered, onelye thus much I will speake generallie hereof to sat-

isfye your desyre that the gouerment and cheif maies-tracie I wishe to Contynewe as yt doth to weete, that yt be ruled by a Lord deputie or Iustyce, for that is a verie saif kynde of rule, But therwithall I wishe that over him theire were placed A Lord Lyvetennant of some of the greatest personages of England (such an one I could name, vpon whom the eye of all England is fixed and our last hopes now rest) who beinge intytuled with that dignitie and beinge alwayes here residente, may backe and defende the good cause of the gouerment, against all malignors, which ells will through theire conninge workinge vnder hand, depraue and pull backe what-soever thinges shalbe well begunn or intended there as wee Comonlie see by experience at this daye to the vtter ruine and desolacion of the poore Realme, And this livetennancye should bee noe discountenanceing of the Lord Deputie, but rather a strengtheninge and maintayning of all his doinges, For nowe the Cheif evill in that gouerment is that noe gouernor is suffred to goe on with any one course but vpon the least informacion here of this or that he is eyther stopped or Crossed, and other courses appointed him from hence, which he shall runn, which how inconvenient yt is, at this howre is to well felte, And therefore this should bee one principle in the appointment of the Lord Deputies aucthoritie, that yt should bee more ample and absolute then yt is: And that he should haue vncontrowled powre to doe any thinge that he with the aduisement of the Counsell should thincke meete to bee done: For yt is not possible for the Councell here to dyrecte a gouer-nor there, who shalbe forced oftentymes to followe the necessitie of presente occasions and to take the suddaine

advantage of tyme, which being once lefte will not bee recouered whilst through expecting dyrections from hence, the delaies whereof are often tymes through greater affayres most yrkesome, the oportunities there in the meanetyme passe awaye and great danger often groweth, which by such tymelie prevencion might easelie bee stopped, And this I remember is worthelie obserued by matchavell in his discourses vpon Livie, where he comendeth the manner of the Romaines gouerment, in gyvinge absolute power to all theire Consulls and governors, which yf they abused they should afterwardes dearly Aunswere, And the contrarie thereof he reprehendeth in the states of Venice of Florence, and manye other principallities of Italie, who vse to lymitte theire cheif offycers, so straightlie as that thereby oftentymes they haue lost such happye occasions, as they could neuer come vnto againe The lyke whereof who so hath bene conversant in that gouerment of Ireland hath too often seene to theire great hurte, Therefore this I could wishe to be redressed, and yett not so, but that in particuler thinges he should bee restrayned, though not in the generall gouerment, as namelye in this that noe offyces should bee sold by the Lord Deputie nor noe pardons nor protections, bought for rewarde, nor noe beeves taken for Captenries of Countries nor noe shares of Bishopprickes for nominating there Bushopps, nor noe forfeytures nor despensations with pennall Statutes geven to theire servantes or freindes Nor noe sellinge of lycenses for exportacion of prohibyted wares and specyallie of Corne and fleshe with many the like, which need some manner of restrainte or ells verie greate trust in the honorable disposition of the Lord Deputie,

Thus I haue E*udox:* as breifelie as I could and as my remembrance would serue, Run through the state of that whole Countrie both to lett yow see what yt now is, and also what may bee by good care and amendement, Not that I take vpon me to Change the pollycie of so great a kingdome or prescribe rules to such wise men as haue the handling thereof, but onely to show yow the evills, which in my small experience I haue obserued to bee the cheif hinderance of the reformacion thereof, And by way of Conference to declare my symple opyn-ion for redresse thereof, and establishing a good course, for that gouerment which I doe not deliuer for a perfect plott of myne owne Invension to be onelye followed, but as I haue learned and vnderstood the same, by the consultacions and actions of verie wise governors, and Counsellors whom I haue sometymes heard treate there-of so haue I thought good to sett downe a remembrance of them for myne owne good and your satisfaccion, that who [so] liste to overlooke them, although perhappt much wyser then they which haue thus aduised of thas estate, yet at least by Comparrison, hereof, may perhapps better his owne Iudgment, and by the light of others fore goinge him may followe after with more ease, and happelye fynd a fayrer way there vnto, then they which haue gone before

E*udox:* I thanke yow I*renius* for this your gentle paines withall not forgettinge now in the shutting vpp to putt yow in mynde of that which yow haue formerlie half promissed [that] hereafter, when wee shall meete againe vpon the like good occasion ye will declare vnto vs these your obseruacions which yee haue gathered of the Antiquities of Ireland

Finis 1596 E. S.

COMMENTARY

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OUR concern here is not with Ireland's rights or wrongs, nor with belated apology, condemnation, or moralising, but with one man's surroundings and experience, which interest students of literature because that man was a great poet, and students of history because his is the best statement of official opinion at a difficult period. The two interests are not mutually exclusive. Spenser was writing about the business by which, instead of the vocation for which he lived, but he was the same man—like other men succeeding and failing in business by reason of his inborn character, warped or developed in character by his business, ennobling his business or consoling himself for it by seeing, beyond and through it, something of his dreams. Our concern is with Spenser, and this commentary, accordingly, is not argumentative, but illustrative.

The date of the *View* is easily determined. It was written in England, as the opening makes clear, and England is referred to as *here*, Ireland as *there*, with a consistency difficult to preserve if the placing were imaginary: the Lord Deputy at the time of writing was successor to Sir William Fitzwilliam—Sir William Russell, who held office from 1594 to 1597. Spenser was in England in 1589-91, 1596, and 1599. Seven manuscripts are dated: one 1590, one 1598, both of which dates are impossible—the second may be the date of the copy—and five (three, if we dismiss two which seem to be copies of a third), 1596. The *View*, then, was written during his second visit, when he published *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe*, the

second edition of *The Faerie Queene, Fowre Hymnes,* and *Prothalamion.*

We do not know when Spenser arrived, but the second part of *The Faerie Queene* was entered on the Stationers' Register on 20th January, 1596, and that publication was presumably one of his first cares—the first part had been entered within two months of his arrival in 1589. *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe,* which is not in the Register, is dated 1595, and since Ponsonby dated his books from January and not from March, and since the variants in the first edition demand the author's presence during the printing, we may believe that Spenser was in London before the end of 1595. In the *View* Tyrone is spoken of as "in arms"; he submitted after a fashion in April, 1596. Again, we might have expected some reference to the taking of Cadiz in June, especially as Essex is—somewhat doubtfully—alluded to near the close. That is not very cogent, and Spenser probably shared the general scepticism as to Tyrone's reliability, but such hints lead us to date the *View* early in the year. Later in this introduction I suggest that Sir Richard Bingham had read it by November. Different parts may have been written at different times, but in any case we are safe in thinking that 1596 was the date of the *View* as we have it.

By that year Spenser had had some sixteen years' regular experience in Irish affairs. His reference to the execution of Morrough O'Brien in 1577 shows that he was then in Ireland—I accept his personal reminiscence as his own, there being no reason to do otherwise—but in what capacity, or how long, we do not

know. He was in England in 1578 and 1579, and returned to Ireland in June, 1580, as secretary to Arthur Lord Grey of Wilton, then newly appointed Lord Deputy. In that capacity he saw something of government between 1580 and Grey's recall in 1582; as Clerk of Faculties and Recognisances in the Chancery Court (1581-2), Commissioner of Musters for Kildare (1583), and deputy Clerk to the Council of Munster (1584 or 1595), he saw something of administration both civil and military. By September 1598 he could be described, in his nomination by the Privy Council to the sheriffdom of Cork, as "a man endowed with good knowledge in lerneing, and not unskillfull or without experience in the service of the warrs" (MS H*arl.* 286. 152, *fol.* 272). But he was a minor official always, a clerk rather than an agent, living on fees and on sundry grants—leases of the Abbey of Enniscorthy, a house in Dublin, and New Abbey, Kildare, none of which he kept long, and finally a small and not too desirable "seignory" on the lands escheated to the Crown after the rebellion and death of the Earl of Desmond. A later generation burned the public records in Dublin, but it is doubtful whether we should have found much more than we have—a return of lands, a record of quarrels with a neighbour, and a couple of dozen letters which prove only that Grey's secretary did a secretary's work.

In Spenser's time the administration functioned unequally and varied somewhat according to its successes or failures, but the main lines were fixed. The head of the services was the Lord Deputy, responsible for all Ireland and with a direct responsibility for the

English Pale and Leinster. Connaught and Munster were each administered under the Deputy by a President and Council on the model of the North of England and the Welsh Marches. The fourth province, Ulster, was on a different footing. There was an old project, revived at intervals, to make it a Presidency also, but the Irish chiefs managed to block it, and ruled their tribes after the old Celtic fashion in nominal and intermittent allegiance to the Crown, treating directly with the Deputy, who usually kept a senior official on their border to watch them.

Three strata or stages of political organisation existed in Ireland side by side: the native Irish, the Anglo-Irish families of the Pale and other relics of the Norman conquest scattered in various parts, and the officials, among whom we reckon Spenser. These last might have been, like the St Legers, in the service for more than one generation; like Sir Richard Bingham, they may have gathered relatives round them: they had no natural footing in the country. They were the servants of the new monarchic and national State of England created by the Tudors, little enough, perhaps, in origin and person, but representing the royal supremacy and holding by the royal prerogative. Spenser had seen four Deputies by 1596, though he had had close contact only with the first, Arthur Lord Grey of Wilton. Grey was new to Ireland, an honest man, vigorous, a convinced Protestant who needed all Elizabeth's instructions to be moderate especially in religious affairs. As a sensible man of no local experience, he consulted the permanent officials, who liked and trusted him in return. In his dealings

with both Celtic and English-Irish, early disappointments, lack of imagination, and a grim sense of duty blinded him to the moral effect of his heavy-handed conscientiousness, until he realised his failure, and after several requests for relief from office, he was recalled in September, 1582, under a heavy cloud of disapproval. The other three had the advantage of previous service in Ireland. In 1584 Sir John Perrot was commissioned, as one who had a record of success and even popularity as President of Munster ten years earlier, to heal the wounds inflicted by Grey. He was as efficient as ever, but frustrated himself by a violent temper and an unbridled tongue, and quarrelled with his officials, whom he ignored and overrode, and whose hostility had much to do with the disgrace in which he retired. In 1588, Sir William Fitzwilliam succeeded, a clever man of considerable experience serving his second term, but suffering from physical disabilities. He did not take himself too seriously, and was not too well trusted. The fourth Deputy, Sir William Russell, had served some two years when Spenser wrote: a useful military head, but no match in wits for Hugh O'Neill.

In Connaught, Sir Nicholas Malbie had done the Crown good service, and was succeeded as President by Sir Richard Bingham, a hard-fisted, efficient soldier and organiser, hated for his hardness and in trouble more than once with the authorities in London on that account, but valuable and successful when well handled by his superiors. Munster was governed by two of the soldier family of Norreys in turn, not conspicuously clever men, honest enough,

more interested perhaps in the real soldiering of the Low Countries than in the Irish mixture of foray and intrigue, and exercising little control over the English adventurers who exploited the province. Captain Thomas Norreys may have been a personal friend of Spenser, since Ludovick Bryskett includes him in the (probably imaginary) colloquy described in A *Dis-course of Civill Life*, written about 1580-82. There were others, but here we need only mention William Lyon, Grey's chaplain who became Bishop of Ross and of Cork, a better man than most of his cloth; and the two who governed as Justices during the inter-regnum after Grey's departure, Sir Henry Wallop, a competent and careful official wrestling with the eternal problems of the military Treasurership, and Adam Loftus, Lord Chancellor and Archbishop of Dublin, a self-seeking weakling who returned Per-rot's contempt with hatred.

The Anglo-Irish notables—Eustaces, Dillons, Nugents, Plunkets, and so on—feudal landholders of long standing, appear little in administration or the army, but seem to have had almost a lien on some of the higher legal posts. In a memorandum on Munster written in 1581, the Provost-Marshal Sir Warham St Leger noted that the Chief Justice, the second Justice, the Queen's Attorney and Solicitor, and the sheriffs, were all native born (*State Papers Ireland*, 80. 29), and despite frequent appeals from the officials for the sending-over of trained and sound lawyers, the Dublin posts were usually in similar hands. These large and interrelated families, however much they might quarrel among themselves, never reconciled

themselves to the new State that functioned through nobodies whose official powers tended to supersede their own hereditary offices and privileges, and the irritation and suspicion were mutual. Greater than these was the Fitzgerald Earl of Kildare, of accepted loyalty but never employed in any post of responsibility, and greatest of all, the head of the Butlers, the Earl of Ormond whose County of Tipperary was a County Palatine outside the normal administration, and who in practice ruled all the central south feudally and almost independently. Here was an anomaly that irked the officials, the more that Ormond was too powerful, both in Ireland and at Court, for them to attack openly. All these English-Irish were related by marriage and by personal ties with their Celtic neighbours, and from Ormond, who called the Queen cousin by right of her Boleyn grandfather's marriage with a Butler heiress, they shaded off, down to local lordlings hardly distinguishable from the tribal chieftains among whom they lived.

The irritation between the feudal families and the royal executive was the counterpart of similar feelings in England during the transition: the first of the two major campaigns of Spenser's time, the war against Gerald Fitzgerald, 15th Earl of Desmond, was, as Spenser himself observes, nothing less than the final liquidation of the Wars of the Roses out of which the new State emerged. Of the two great southern families, the Fitzgeralds had been Yorkists and the Butlers Lancastrians, and since Ormond was not only on the winning side but allied to it and trusted by it, Desmond was forced into permanent opposition. The war, half

feud half rebellion, had dragged on since 1560, but flared up in 1579, with this new menace in it, that Desmond, a feudal baron at odds with his overlord, having little of the new English sense of nationality or the Irish right of clanship, allied himself to Spain as any feudal baron might. The Four Masters, whose chronicle gives the Irish side of events, record how Fitzgeralds, Butlers, and English troops raided and counter-raided, until "between them the country was left one levelled plain, without corn or edifices." Almost all Ormond's land "was suffered to remain one surface of weeds and waste. Nor was it wonderful... on account of the many times the Earl (of Desmond) had plundered them . . .At this period it was commonly said, that the lowing of a cow, or the ploughman, could scarcely be heard from Dun-Caoin (in West Kerry) to Cashel." (tr. O'Donovan, 1853, v. 1723, 1785). Spenser saw this at first hand, for Grey had to join in the campaign, and his secretary went with him.

After Desmond's death in 1583, no major action occurred until the rise of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, some ten years later. This brilliant man of action and brilliant diplomatist had the advantage of an English training, so he knew his adversaries. Elizabeth had intended him to play in Ulster the part played by the O'Brien Earls of Thomond in Connaught, intermediary between the English State and the Irish clans. Since, once she had chosen her men, Elizabeth did not abandon them lightly, and since his wonderful personality impressed local officials, he gained the time he needed to prepare for the campaign

that was to make him King of Ireland. While the authorities oscillated between reassurance and disillusion, he trained his fighting men on English lines, reversed the traditional O'Neill policy of feud with his neighbours, gradually gathered the clans of Ulster under his leadership, and gained touch with the discontented and adventurous in all Ireland. In 1596 he was closing one of the apparently aimless insurrections in which he tried his strength against the English forces: few believed in the submission he tendered—he had done it so often. So far, Spenser was not directly concerned with these northern affairs, but in 1598 Tyrone, relying on Spanish help, swept through Ireland from north to south, and, in true Celtic style, collapsed. But before that affair ended, Spenser was dead. He put up a fight for his house of Kilcolman, for the Four Masters record the death of a notable warrior at its burning, but he was driven into Cork with the rest, sent to report in London, and there died, only some three years after he had written down this hopeful scheme for the regeneration of Ireland.

The cause for which Hugh O'Neill fought was that of the native chiefs. The officials were superseding the feudal notables, but between them and the "mere"—that is, pure—Irish lay the gulf of six centuries of political development. A few great chiefs, like the O'Briens, rallied to the Crown and prospered; others found the English army a convenient protection from aggressive neighbours; many, and these the strongest, were determined enemies. The greater they were, the more hostile, for they had more to lose from the consistent English policy, the reduction of the in-

dependent chiefs to the status of lords holding of the Crown. Their numbers varied according as they felt the pressure of officialdom, and still more as they liked or disliked the Deputy of the moment: O'Neill and O'Donnell set an example of steady resistance.

The chiefs wanted to be left alone to live and rule in their own way, but in the eyes of the officials that way had several defects quite apart from resistance to royal prerogative. The capital defect was its instability. The English thought in terms of land and the family, the Irish in terms of the tribe and the individual. A hereditary nobility is stable and therefore manageable, since it has to think of its offspring, and in normal circumstances the transfer of power from the dead lord to his eldest son, the recognised heir, creates the minimum of disturbance to everyone. But the Irish chieftainship was elective, not hereditary. The election itself was a disturbance, and candidates often tried to drag in the government; and when a chief died, people in Dublin did not know who might succeed or what he might do. The closest modern parallel to the annals of the Four Masters is the recent history of Arabia. So also with lesser men: they were tenants at will, entirely dependent on the chiefs, with no direct relation to government because they had never known any comparable central authority. Finance was uncertain, for tenants paid no fixed rents but only variable customary dues and services as they were demanded. Even the land itself was unstable, for no dues were payable on uncultivated ground, and the restless population shifted from year to year within the clan territories. The officials could not calculate, even if

they understood, the force of clan law, custom and opinion to restrain the apparently arbitrary power of the chiefs. To these modern-minded men the system was merely a chaotic anachronism. And it was impossible of control from the outside. They saw very clearly that Ireland would never be a quiet administrable state until the clan system disappeared and the country was organised throughout in their way, with appointed representatives of the State controlling a stable population within the fixed and defined boundaries of the shires. To that end they had made considerable progress, and in time the same process would probably have occurred in Ireland as in Scotland: the chieftainships would have become hereditary, and in due course the chiefs would have bilked the clans. But both sides were impatient.

The officials had some cause for impatience. It is an official's first business to keep his district in orderly quiet, which is just what the Irish did not want and what their system disallowed. The Desmond war and Tyrone's rebellion, however dangerous, rested on an identifiable legal basis. More, the attack on Smerwick Fort was a normal operation of war, and once Tyrone left his own country, hampered himself with orthodox Spanish soldiers, and risked a set battle, the English found themselves: this was real warfare, which they knew. But the chronic unrest, the continuous police-work, was another matter. The quarrels of the chiefs kept large countries uneasy: Grey had to march to Lifford, with secretary, staff, and troops, to meet O'Donnell and Turlough O'Neill and knock their heads together. Even before he was installed, he had

an unlucky encounter, a characteristic English "regrettable incident" which illustrates three of his difficulties at once. James Eustace, 3rd Lord Baltinglas, an Anglo-Irish gentleman of the Pale, rebelled, which shook the web of those inter-related families; his reason, real or ostensible, was religion; and—our point at the moment—he allied himself with Feagh O' Byrne, the most noted of contemporary caterans, who, from his stronghold in the Wicklow Hills, proved himself for many a year the worthy son of his father Hugh, whom the Four Masters call "the warlike opponent and plunderer of his English and Irish neighbours." Feagh McHugh was a conspicuous nuisance because he operated so near Dublin, and because he made a regular trade of it, but he was only one of many all over Ireland. Hunger, caprice, pride, habit, greed, *amour propre*, revenge, sportsmanship, any motive sent the clansmen cattle-lifting. It might be the display of courage and leadership which tribal custom demanded of a newly-inaugurated chieftain; it might be the provisioning of an army; it might be plain theft: the officials might not know which it was, but in any case it was their business to stop it, not by the native plan of simple retaliation, but by punishment, after investigation, of this breach of the Queen's peace. It shows their limitations that they had only one name for it, "rebellion." They never understood the ethics of it, any more than they understood that tribal warfare was neither murder nor revolt; but they had to stop both.

They saw, once more, that the root of the trouble lay in the native organisation, in the existence and prestige of a class whose whole life was in clan war-

fare and cattle-raiding, the kernes and galloglasses who were fighting men by caste. Later ages are apt to remember the picturesque kerne, rapparee, gunman, and to forget the simpler folk, the ploughman and herdsman, whose labours made possible the livelier careers of their betters. "There are two Sortes of people in Ireland to be considered of," wrote an anonymous contemporary of Spenser's, "the one called the *Kerne*, the other the *Chorle*. The Kerne bredd up in Idlenesse and Naturally Inclined to Mischiefs and Wickednesse, the Chorle willing to Labour and take paines, if he might peaceably Enjoy the fruits thereof." There were, he says, two kinds of kerne, the homeless fighting men who followed a chief and were billeted on the churls in his country—who could not complain of their conduct, "for the Lord must Maintaine his Kerne, because he is his Strength, And also comonly he is partaker of his Spoyles"—and those who held land of the chief and worked it by churls as subtenants, taking no fixed rent but the same customary dues of money, food and service as the chief had. (S.P.I*r*. 79. 55) Spenser's neighbour Sir Edward Phyton reported in 1587, "the contrey generally wasted. But yet not a pyle in any place but full of the pooreste creatures that euer I sawe, so leane for want of Foode as wonderfull but yet so ydle as they will not worke because they are discended eyther of kerne horseman or galloglasse, all three the verie subvertion of this lande." (S.P.I*r*. 130. 55) Ireland could never be quiet while these castes existed, so they had to be reformed or destroyed, not as being Irish, but as parasites and troublers of the realm, and —as even O'Rourke evidently thought when he

wiped out a sept of Desmond galloglasses who wandered into his country after their master's death—a common danger. The churls, the productive husbandmen, were to be strengthened and made secure, for nothing stabilises a country more than good land tenures; and it is an official's second business to show good crops. The officials believed, rightly or wrongly, that the churls appreciated the change of status, or would, as soon as they were used to it; and as for the kerne, they were applying to Ireland the lesson of the last two centuries of English history: what they needed was something analogous to Henry VII's Statute of Retainers.

Into all this the question of nationality scarcely enters. If Tyrone had had tenacity equal to his other gifts he might have created it; the officials were unconsciously implanting it both by the good and by the harm they did: but it was a comparatively new idea even in England. The one permanent and universal cause was that of religion: and even the religious question bulks larger in some histories than in the papers of the time. In Ireland as in England the Queen preached moderation: so long as people did not transfer their loyalties, they should not be disturbed for their beliefs. Her views were even quoted by a bold Irishwoman against a too inquisitorial Deputy. When Tyrone demanded liberty of religion in 1597, Ormond asked, "My Lord, what have you and I to meddle with matters of religion?" and Tyrone acknowledged that he had not been troubled in the matter. But religion and politics were inextricably entangled. Opportunist Spain and impatient Popes

complicated everything. It always seems to have annoyed the officials. To such Marthas, troubled about many things, an incalculable force like religion is always difficult, and they realise the danger of religious controversy, that the public peace is always liable to disturbance by forcible individuals on either side. So they resented the Roman missionaries, and on the other side they ignored the demands for compulsion put forward by Loftus and by Myler Magrath, the Archbishop of Cashel, a native Irishman and sheer rogue. And they heartily despised, with good reason, most of the imported English clerics.

The service itself was difficult. England was trying to develop her first colony while she was making herself a State, and the instrument was a body of officials without security of tenure and without Service tradition or etiquette, and troops—they could not be called an army—whose officers had all the mediaeval individualism without the mediaeval leader's responsibility to his followers. The Irish administration was too far from headquarters for consultation, but near enough for interference; and, worst of all, was never sure of its backing. A man's position depended too much on personal dissensions and ascendancies in the Privy Council, and the Queen varied between royal rage at rebels, royal annoyance at inefficient servants, and royal solicitude for her poor subjects. All of which is bad for men's tempers and morals. Deploring the possible departure of Grey, Spenser's friend Ludovick Bryskett moralises: "What greater infelicitie can men be dryven into, then we that by any occasion are drawen to live in this Countrey, that must

endure so many chaunges of Maisters, and abyde the hazardes of everyes good lyking how good, how faythfull, and how honest soever our service be. By which occasion men are forced (as it were) and beaten to learne by experience eche one to take the benefite of the present tyme, with feare of the tyme to comme, and so often tymes even the honest mynde bent from his straight course, and the others gett somme colourable excuse, in worldly wisdome, to cover and shadowe their greedie dispositions." (S.P.I*r*.92.29)

Behind all this lay the deeper necessity of England's safety, and the permanent strategic problem. England was at war with Spain, and the flanks of England rest beyond the narrow seas, in the Low Countries and in Ireland. Nobody has ever wanted Ireland very badly, but no English government could feel secure while the long western seaboard was open to invasion from across St George's Channel; and every foreign enemy —Scots, Spanish, French, German—has attempted to open that flank, as the Norsemen did in the early days before the Norman Conquest. The officials, accordingly, have had to keep the peace, collect the taxes, consolidate the administration of a people whose one idea was to avoid being administered at all, and deny that flank to the enemy; and to do it, in times of stress, with what money, stores, and men could be spared or were unserviceable for more important fields, while they knew that their success would be measured by the paucity of happenings in their district, and that, as one of them put it, they were only a back-armour to England. The Armada was defeated in 1588, causing no small work to the author-

ities in Connaught and Munster, but year after year, merchants from continental ports brought tales of new preparations, and in this year 1596 another invasion was daily expected in Ireland and England alike, until it was forestalled by the Cadiz expedition of Essex and Ralegh.

The *View*, then, was written in a time of unusual anxiety, and might be regarded as a contribution to government in time of crisis; but that interpretation will not suffice, for Spenser scarcely hides the fact that he is less interested in Irish administration than in Irish antiquities. His opening gives a possible motive, that in plain fact people were asking questions of this official on leave—as it might be, nowadays, one from India—and he wrote his answers down to satisfy them; he was at court, and so mixing with people whose curiosity was both real and pertinent. Yet his adoption of dialogue form does not need such an explanation. It was convenient for his purpose, and well understood among men trained on Cicero. Spenser was a man of letters, and would adopt it as naturally as he adopted pastoral and epic. He handles it well, keeping the requisite balance between the interlocutors and preserving a level tone without involution or declamation, but it is not mere crystallised conversation. The defence of Grey's memory, again, is not in itself a sufficient motive. He had done that already in Book V of *The Faerie Queene*, and though his native loyalty prompted a repetition in prose, it is only incidental, and in any case Spenser would have faith rather in the persuasiveness and permanence of poetry. Much of the policy he advocates can be identified with that of

Grey, but Grey only followed a policy which the officials had recommended before his time and continued to recommend long after his death.

The briefest acquaintance with the State Papers will convince anyone that it was not in conventional modesty that Spenser put forward his plan, not "for a perfect plott of myne owne Invension . . . but as I haue learned and vnderstood the same, by the consultacion and actions of verie wise governors, and Counsellors whom I haue sometymes heard treate thereof." (p. 219) One such consultation, at which it was presumably Spenser's duty to be present, is reported by Edward Waterhouse to Walsingham in January, 1581: Grey called him, Sir Henry Wallop, and Sir Nicholas Malbie together to consider Captain Piers's Plot for Ulster: "Some speaches have passed amonges us towching the platt, which will not be much altered either in Mounster from Sir Willm. Pelhams nor in Connaught or Vlstr from Sir Nicholas Malbies devise and that sett down by the erle of Essex." (S.P.I*r*. 80.28) Waterhouse had his own plan (S.P.I*r*.80.9) along with those above and one by Ussher. The officials were well aware of the state of affairs, thought about it, and discussed it, like intelligent men. The Public Record Office and the Carew Papers at Lambeth contain dozens of memoranda, appreciations of the situation, and recommendations. Spenser would have been almost unique among his fellows if he had not produced his "platt" for at least a province, and the *View* is distinguishable only by its greater length and more systematic development, its completeness, and the greater skill and stronger literary intention of the writer.

The business of a provincial official is, to show an orderly population, good crops, and a self-supporting administration: how to procure these is the subject of the *View*. Spenser is not merely cursing the Irish and wishing to reproduce English machinery of government: he is critical of the whole regime; Irish, English-Irish, and English alike. And whatever his immediate incentive to write, he was doing it with a considerable body of official information and official opinion before him. He did indeed consult the files and statutes like a good civil servant, but though the Secretary had to know his minute-book, the Black Book of the Council of Munster, none of his posts trained him to construct a scheme of taxation for the whole of Ireland. That kind of military budget was more Sir Henry Wallop's business. Again, Spenser says he is "no martial man," but he has the strategic geography of all Ireland in his head, he lays down a military plan on almost classic lines, has views on organisation, and knows the grievances of both officers and men. If this plan was Grey's, Spenser had it on paper, or he had a marvellous memory. His relations with the lawyers may have been closer, but his unprofessional survey of courts, laws, and police is thoroughly competent. It is to Spenser's credit that he sets forth his matter so clearly, but that matter was not merely the passing impression of an intelligent minor official or the gossip of the clerks. Some of his points of policy were subjects of legislation as far back as the third year of Edward II, they can all, or practically all, be parallelled in some official letter or other in his own time, and many of them are commonplaces. The

manuscript volume T*itus xii* in the British Museum—to name only one—contains "The effect of Russells discourse towching the present ill state of Ireland and the way to redresse it," which is almost an epitome of the V*iew*, and if the Lord Deputy had called together Sir Henry Wallop, Sir Richard Bingham, the Bishop of Cork, Justice Gardiner, and Sir Warham St Leger, he would have received much the same information as we find in the V*iew*, and practically identical advice.

These details, again, must have been written down; Spenser must have brought them from Ireland, whether for this purpose or for another, or must have been in touch with someone who had them thence. Historical and geographical books might well be easier found in England than in Ireland—though indeed Spenser's researches were less extensive than at first sight they appear, and it is possible that he began his historical studies before he came to England—but some of his details are quoted as from old records in London or Dublin, and almost all of these appear in the "Book of Howth," a collection of extracts which passed from Dublin Castle into the hands of Sir George Carew. We do not know when Carew acquired the various items of the collection now in Lambeth and Oxford, but Edmund Campion, Meredith Hanmer the Archdeacon of Cork, and Spenser seem to have had access to the same papers or copies of them. In our note on page 83, it is shown that Spenser had seen Campion's manuscript; he must have known Hanmer, and probably knew Carew. His knowledge of contemporary affairs may

be judged by the parallels quoted below. A phrase in one of Bingham's letters suggests that he had seen the *View* soon after its completion, if not before. Writing to Burghley on Nov. 18, 1596, Bingham says of Connaught that "the wastes there noe other then a Tartarian waste." This erudite touch is unlike his usual soldierly style, and reminiscent of our learned author (page 204). Bingham writes from Westminster, where Spenser had lived in 1580 and where he died in 1599. The poet was at Greenwich with the Court when he dedicated *Foure Hymnes* on 1st September, but he and Bingham may well have been neighbours, and the soldier may well have assisted in the military part of the scheme. Some of it certainly is the plan he had developed, and he was the best qualified of them all to lay down the lines as is done here.

In this view, Spenser would almost disappear from his book, and the personality we find in it would be but literary skill. Yet we may well believe that Spenser accepted the views of his official superiors, and was not independent like Sir William Herbert in Kerry, whose long and characteristic tracts (S.P.I*r*. 138.59) and lively letters are a welcome respite from the reiterated grindings of the official circle. That very acceptance is evidence for some part of Spenser's character; and here, despite our opening disclaimer, we must go beyond illustration, for, since he brings himself forward as evidence on two occasions, his character is in question. Spenser was not a pure intelligence any more than another, but a man of his time, his experience a part of him. For all his advocacy of a well-prosecuted campaign, for all the six-

teenth-century carelessness of human life accentuated by service in a country where human life has never been highly regarded, for all his English inadaptibility to other modes of living, the common impression of Spenser, that he calls only for blood and wishes all the Irish dead, is a misrepresentation.

It has proved unfortunate for Spenser that the best-written paragraph in the *View*, and therefore the most quotable, and therefore the only one most people know, is his description of the devastation and famine caused by the Desmond Wars. That paragraph is the best written because it is the one paragraph that is fully charged with emotion; and the emotion is not gloating satisfaction, but horror. As Miss M. M. Grey has pointed out in *The Review of English Studies* (VI.24) the terrible picture haunted Spenser all his life. It is assumed, and even stated, that he advocated similar treatment for the whole population. The candid reader, however, must not allow the emotion to distract him from the argument. Spenser does not cite this as an example of how to treat the Irish, but as an incidental proof of the common opinion that the campaign commonly held to be a necessary preliminary to reorganisation would, if properly followed up, be short. He argues *a fortiori:* if a whole rich countryside could collapse like this, how much more a guerilla army, separated from its women and churls, and living on driven cattle.

The other much-canvassed episode is that of the massacre at Smerwick in November, 1580. What horrifies us in this story is the slaughter: we need not assume that its authors enjoyed it, or that Grey's re-

ported tears were hypocritical. In any case Spenser's only concern is to point out, first, that this was not a massacre like that of the people of Haarlem, or done in a fit of ill-temper. These Italians and Spaniards were filibusters, indefensible in any court martial: they were indeed disowned by Pope and King. Also Grey was in a tight corner. Mendoza, the Spanish Ambassador, reported that Grey suspected the garrison's attempts to parley "in the fear that it might be a stratagem to keep him in check until Desmond arrived, since it was impossible for any soldier to believe that there could be so few brave men in the fort, which they had been strengthening for two months, as to surrender without striking a blow . . . The Englishmen there say that if the fort had held out for four days, the Viceroy's retreat would have been cut off, and the Queen's ships could not have held their own, to the great peril of the English in Ireland." (*Cal.*S.P. *Spanish*, vol. 3 no. 57). Five hundred prisoners (or six, according to Grey) could not be brought off in the face of a strong enemy, through 100 miles of difficult country, in a wet November, by a force whose reliable strength was eight hundred; and Grey adopted the solution which Henry V adopted at Agincourt and Napoleon was to adopt at Acre. The characters of all three may be stained; but it meant, at the time, balancing the lives of five or six hundred foreign filibusters against all Ireland. Any court chosen from the most high-minded commanders of sixteenth-century Europe would certainly have declared unanimously that Grey's action was justified by the laws of war; the Spanish Ambassador and the Papal officials

report the massacre without any trace of surprise or emotion, and the Colonel of the fort took it a thing to be expected, as is clear from his report quoted in our notes.

The second point entails a conflict of evidence. Grey was accused of massacring troops who had surrendered upon promise of life. Our court of commanders would certainly have declared that Grey would have been unjustified in granting any terms short of surrender at discretion. In any case, his report written at the time—by Spenser's hand—before any accusation was made, agrees with Spenser's evidence sixteen years later, and, what is quite conclusive, with the report of the commander of the fort, Sebastiano di San Joseppi, to the Vatican, and with those of his commissary Paulo Giustinani and of another of his men, unnamed, to the Papal Nuncio in France. Who invented the tale of Grey's perfidy I do not know. Mendoza, the Spanish Ambassador in London, who mentions it first, was quite capable of it; captured officers may have found it necessary to explain away their surrender of the fort with a strong relieving force in the vicinity, and their return without their men; the Nuncio heard it in Paris seven months later, evidently from Ireland: Grey had enemies enough, and the story was told and remembered. But no statement can stand against the independent statements of the two men who spoke together that November day; and Spenser's truth is as clearly vindicated as his courageous loyalty is clearly displayed.

There we may leave it. For the rest, Spenser was really interested in Ireland. He liked the country, found in the churls the makings of a good peasantry,

and, however much he disapproved of the fighting castes, he praised their gallantry, military aptitude, and horsemanship. The Roman missionaries were emissaries of Antichrist, but he admired without reserve their courage and devotion. To Irish history and poetry he condescends with all the superiority of a humanist, but though these lie outside the great European tradition in which he had been bred, he recognises their value. He condemns the bards, but not for writing bad poetry; and he contributes to Irish history his collections from the most approved historians and anthropologists, and the most modern method of interpretation. In whatever colours he painted Irish life, his outlines tally with those we can construct from Irish sources. It was his business to know it, and however antipathetic both professionally and temperamentally, he knew it pretty well. For Spenser had struck roots. It is noticeable that his reminiscences of events go back to his earlier days, but the scenes he commemorates in his poems are those around his Munster home. In 1590 he had called his estate of Kilcolman "Hap Hazard." It was poor enough, outlying and dangerous, though conveniently situated halfway between Cork and Limerick, and he managed later to add some richer land to it. In 1591 he had amused himself by making a classical myth out of the peculiarities of a stream on his land—clear running water was always a delight to him. In 1594 he had summoned the whole landscape to share in the joy and pride of his marriage. Ireland was entangled in his emotions, and in his poetry. And he placed on Galtymore—a most felicitous choice—the

assembly of the Gods to judge of the philosophical problem that haunted him all his life, the problem of Mutability. All things are subject to vicissitude; of all goods, stability is to be desired. In the state of Ireland he found a conspicuous example of instability. He loved peace, and there was no peace in Ireland. But here at least something could be done. The *View* was a contribution to the problem of government, but the administrative projects, even the dull details of finance, could further the progress of Ireland towards the ideal of *The Faerie Queene*.

For that ideal, war and the routine of government had to be endured. That Spenser's plan is that of the service he belonged to, is beside the point: it is only since Shelley that the poets have been expected to be in opposition. That he did not imagine that English social and political ideals might not appeal to other peoples, only proves him a true Englishman. In an interesting paper (*University of Illinois Studies*, 1919) Professor H. S. V. Jones argues that Spenser gathered his ideas of historical method from Jean Bodin's *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem*, and of sovereignty from his *République*. Spenser would certainly know both, but without Bodin his ideas would probably have been much the same. His method is indeed that laid down by Bodin: "Tria sunt igitur argumenta quibus origines haberi, and ab historicis traditae iudicari possunt; primum in spectata fide scriptoris; alterum in linguae vestigiis; tertium in regionis situ ac descriptione." (*Methodus*, cap. ix; ed. of 1599, p. 484). But he does not follow Bodin in his acts, and in Buchanan and Camden he found the

historical method usefully exemplified. If, again, Bodin's learned, important, and wearisome treatise on political theory gave him some intellectual conviction, the doctrine of royal sovereignty was the necessary presupposition of the official world of the new monarchy, in and by which he lived. The views on law which we find in the *View* are those that were in the air of the time, based ultimately on the *Politics* of Aristotle, but developed in contemporary practice and written down by many men, like Sir Thomas Elyot before Bodin and Sir Thomas Smith after him. If the theory of princely sovereignty was an academic lesson, it was the general lesson of the Civil Law, the University study as opposed to the Common Law of the Inns of Court. But it was also the lesson of the last two hundred years of English history, the knowledge that kept Elizabeth on her throne lest England should be thrown back into the uncertainties and distractions of the fifteenth century. It is the lesson of Shakespeare's plays, and we need not imagine either poet arguing himself into it: it was inevitable, and it was only emphasised in a land devoid of unified native authority and of native courts executing its will.

In this light, the *View* is Spenser's own. To what extent it sheds light on details of his poems is another matter. The defence of Lord Grey appears in the *View* and in Book V of *The Faerie Queene*; the parallel is obvious: but we must not read *The Faerie Queene* as we read *The Prelude*. Spenser was not recounting his personal experience, but using it, and using it equally with his reading, which also is experience. He passes easily from one to the other, and where we can identify

an Irish reminiscence we will usually find it "contaminated" with a literary reminiscence. In Book VI, Canto vii, for instance, the raid on the flocks of Melibee shades off from an Irish "bodrag" into a commonplace of the Greek romancers. Many of the more obvious references and descriptions might be gathered by an observant poet in a couple of weeks. It would be safer, as well as better, to annotate *The Faerie Queene* from the *View* than the *View* from *The Faerie Queene*. Such a reference as that to the Shannon tides in Book IV. iii.27 is obvious; the deeper experience may lie in less easily suspected places, as this, nine stanzas later:

Strokes, wounds, wards, weapons, all they did despise,
Ne either car'd to ward, or perill shonne,
Desirous both to haue the battell donne;
Ne either cared life to saue or spill,
Ne which of them did winne, ne which were wonne.
So wearie both of fighting had their fill,
That life it selfe seemd loathsome, and long safetie ill.

The man who wrote that was "not without experience in the service of the warrs."

The *View* itself is another matter. It was a political document of practical and immediate intention, and as such it was recognised by the cautious Warden of the Stationers' Company who refused to take the responsibility of an unconditional entry in the Register, and by the authorities who apparently forbade its printing. Many manuscripts must have circulated, until Sir James Ware printed it in Dublin, dedicating it to Wentworth—not yet Earl of Strafford—then Lord Deputy. That Strafford's policy, if we include

those parts of it that his selfish master hindered him from carrying out, agreed so closely with that detailed by Spenser, may be only that it was the traditional policy of the Irish executive, kept alive in the offices—and indeed *ex Hibernia semper aliquid veteris*—but the *View* was printed in 1633, and, of the antiquated Statutes ridiculed by Spenser, three were repealed in 1634. Strafford was too intelligent to neglect this piece of evidence on Irish affairs, but he might have gone beyond it, for he was a statesman, and this is the work of an official—or, as I have suggested, of several officials. Gladstone, if he ever saw it, would scarcely understand it: Disraeli, who is more likely to have met it, might smile grimly and quote himself, "In England, where society was strong, they tolerated a weak government; in Ireland, where society was weak, the policy should be to have the government strong." But John Nicholson would understand parts of it, and Marshal Lyautey, and M. Stalin. It exposes the ideas of men whose business it is to show results, and require only enough political theory to make them feel secure in mind. If then we recall Spenser the poet, it is to praise him that amidst such influences as produced the *View*, he should have retained so human an ideal as he expressed in *The Faerie Queene*, and, indeed, as appears in many places even here; to be glad that his studious turn of mind forced him continually to seek the larger world he could find only in his books; and, most of all, to rejoice that the poet in him was never killed, but remained to do his poet's office of testifying to those things which outlast all the schemes of the politicians.

Page 3, line 11. Such pessimistic phrases were current. Deploring Grey's possible departure, Spenser's friend Ludovick Bryskett wrote to Walsingham, May 10, 1582: "What can be sayd but that the secrett Judgement of God hangeth over this soyle, that causeth all the best endeavours of those that labour the reformacion thereof to comme to naught." (*State Papers Ireland, vol.* 92, no. 29)

P.4, l.6. "Commune est hodie, cui simile est illud Ptolomaei: Sapiens dominabitur astris."—Cognatus, in appendix to the *Adagia* of Erasmus, 1612.

P.6, l.23. This idea of William the Conqueror as founder of the English common law, was commonly held, though inaccurate. See Polydore Vergil, Holinshed on the reign; Camden, *Brit.* p. 152—less absolutely stated than in his early editions.

P.9, l.1. Sir Anthony St Leger was Deputy 1540-1556, with intervals; the Parliament met in 1542.

P.12, l.13. Camden, *Britannia*, tr. Holland, 1610, p. 27: "...TANIA: which betokeneth in Greek, a region ... MAVRITANIA, LVSITANIA, and AQVITANIA ...of *Mauri* they framed *Mauritania*, as one should say, the country of the *Mauri* ... of *Lusus* ... *Lusitania*, as it were *the land of* *Lusus*."

P.13, l.9. By Act of the Irish Parliament 33 Henry VIII (1542) *s.* 1, *c.* 1, the royal title Lord of Ireland was changed to King of Ireland. Spenser follows the argument of the Act: "Forasmuch as the King ... and his grace's most noble progenitors, Kings of England, have bin Lords of this land of Ireland, having all manner kingly jurisdiction, power, pre-eminences, and authoritie royall, belonging or appertayning to

the royall estate and majestie of a King, by the name of Lords of Ireland . . ." (Quoted from *The Statutes at Large . . . Ireland*, Dublin, 1786)

P.13, l.21. *Tully to Brutus*: I have not found this.

P.14, l.6. The *positive* law is "The law of man (the which sometime is called the law positive)" as distinguished from the law of God and the law of reason. (C. St German, *The Dialogue* in English, 1530—here from the edition of 1593.)

P.15, l.25. Bodin *de la République*, V.i: "L'vn des plus grands, & peut estre le principal fondement des Republiques, est d'accommoder l'estat au naturel des citoyens, & les edicts & ordonnances à la nature des lieux, des personnes, & du temps." In the same chapter Bodin discusses the possibility of changing natures by laws; but his development and examples are different from Spenser's in each place. Sir Thomas Smith's chapter "That the common wealth or policie must be according to the nature of the people", in *de Republica Anglorum* (which E.K. cited in *The Shepheardes Calendar*) may also be in the background.

P.17, l.22. Richard de Clare, Earl of Pembroke, called Strongbow, was invited to Ireland and established Norman-English there, 1168.

P.19, l.18. *White meates*: milk, cheese, and such like.

P.19, l.30. *Slewlougher*: Slieveloughera, in north Kerry, mentioned in *Faerie Queene* IV.xi.41. *Arlo*: the glen of Aherlow in the Galtee Mts., 20 miles or so NE. of Kilcolman, and a famous resort of outlaws; see *Astrophel*, 96, F.Q. VII,vi. 37 ff. *Culvers*: the Curlew Mts. between Leitrim, Roscommon, and Sligo, with an important and difficult pass fortified in

1590. *Moneroo* or *Monterolis*: tribal name of south Leitrim. *Orourkes countrie*: north Leitrim, roughly. *Glenmalure*: the O'Byrne stronghold in the Wicklow Hills. *The Scotts*: the quasi-permanent settlement of Highland Scots in NE. Antrim.

P.20, l.28. Lionel Duke of Clarence was created Earl of Ulster, 1347; married Elizabeth de Burgh (*not* Lacy), daughter of William de Burgh 3rd Earl of Ulster, 1352; appointed Lieutenant in Ireland, 1361.

P.21, l.22. Spenser exaggerates Morrough "en Ranagh" O'Brien's rebellion of 1382. The Four Masters do not record Morrough's being called King. He died of plague in 1383. The fact is not recorded by Camden; Spenser may have learned it from local tradition.

P.23, l.21. For this history of Edward Bruce's invasion, 1315, see Holinshed and Camden.

P.26, l.22. Thomas Fitzgerald, called also Fitzgarret, 10th Earl of Kildare, rebelled and was executed, 1535.

P.26, l.25. Besides the Desmond war, Grey had to deal with a rebellion in the Pale, led by William Nugent and Lord Baltinglas.

On 29th March, 1581, the Papal Nuncio in France reported to the Vatican: "Yesterday by letters from friends I had more certain confirmation of the affairs of Ireland, that the Catholic party there is equal in strength to the enemy, and very constant: and with them is joined an English Lord called Valtinglas (Baltinglas) and one they call the great Onello (O'Neill) has finally taken up arms on the side of the good." (Vatican Archives, *Nunziature*, *Francia* 15. 88vo.) A letter from London, 15th March, 1581, states, "Quantum ad Hiberniam iam omnes illius gentis Comites et

Reguli usque ad unum a Regina deficierunt . . . solus Hormundanus Comes pertinax adhuc Reginae partibus adheret." (*Ibid*, 94). Grey's march on O'Neill, and his strict dealing in the Pale, certainly saved a very difficult situation.

P.28, l.3. *Leix*: Queen's County. *Offaly*: King's County.

P.29, l.15. Spenser's *devise or purpose* echoes the *compass or imagine* of the Statutes of Treasons, e.g. 2 Eliz. *c*.6.

P.33, l.30. This is scarcely accurate: 35 peremptory challenges were (and are) allowed in trials for treason, 20 in trials for felony.

P.36, l.18. This manoeuvre was discovered by Wallop: see his letters in *Cal.* S.P.Ir., 109.60, 124.47, 124.13. His production of the evidence in the Parliament of 1586 forced on the Act 28 Eliz. *c*.5, by which Desmond's lands were attainted.

P.37, l.23. Spenser probably remembers vaguely a passage he looked up for his historical remarks, *de* B. G. VI. 14: "In primis hoc volunt persuadere, non interire animas . . . atque hoc maxime ad virtutem excitari putant metu mortis neglecto."

P.41, l.19. These Statutes are: 25 Henry VI *c*. 4, repealed 1634; 28 Henry VIII *c*. 15; 25 Henry VI *c*. 6, repealed 1634; 33 Henry VI *c*. 2; 5 Edw. IV *c*. 4; 10 Henry VIII *c*. 9; 10 Henry VI; 35 Henry VI *c*. 3.

P.42, l.13. Spenser's historical explanation is wrong, but his argument is sensible. Distraint was the regular process of Celtic law in Ireland, where courts did not exist, as in England, for redress of grievance. The statutes make exception of "such as are not amenable

to common law," but by 1596 the distinction between those to whom Irish law was applicable and those to whom English law had been extended was difficult, especially given the theory that the royal law was for all Ireland, and the phrase must have created confusion. The reference to the later statute is not clear: there were two, 35 Henry VI *c.* 3 and 15 Edw. IV *c.*1, but the second merely repeats the substance of the first. It is clear that Spenser understood the Irish procedure: the publicity of the distraint and the presence of witnesses were essential to its legality.

3 Edw. II *c.*1; 18 Henry VI *c.* 3; 28 Henry VI *c.*1; 10 Henry VII *c.* 18: the second of these makes the offence treason, the third, felony.

P.46, l.3. *Cuddie*: the chief's right to a "night supper" from his tenant. *Cosherie*: the right to certain feastings at various times, for the chief and his followers. *Bonnagh*: the right of quartering troops on the tenant, or payment in lieu thereof. *Sragh*: a money rent. *Sorehin*: meat and drink for the galloglasses.

P.46, l.8. Cf. Ralegh, *Prerogative of Parliaments*: "Defend me, and spend me, saith the Irish Churl."

P.46, l.10. Eudoxus is quoting the common (and still valid) legal maxim *Volenti non fit injuria*.

P.46, l.25. 11 Eliz. *s.*1. *c.*4 enacts: "That from henceforth, five persons of the best and eldest of everie stirpe or nation of the Irishrie, and in the countries that bee not as yet shire grounds, and till they bee shire ground, shall be bound to bring in to be justified by law, all idle persons of their surname, which shall be hereafter charged with any offence."

P.48, l.16. The Law of Alfred equivalent to *Kincog*-

ish I cannot find, unless this be a vague reminiscence of the communal responsibility of the Tithing, as explained by Camden, quoting from William of Malmesbury in his chapter on *Britanniæ Divisio*: see pp. 185, 198 and our notes thereon.

P.48, l.18. The etymology is false, as Ware points out, "K*in* signifying in I*rish*, the heads or chiefe of any septs."

P.49, l.14. Spenser was deeply interested in Irish history, but he realised that entanglement in the usual labyrinth of citation and argument would be detrimental to his main purpose. He uses historical notions only as heads under which to arrange the customs which are his real subject, and contents himself with as much argument as seemed necessary, and a promise, repeated in the close of the book, to return to the antiquities of Ireland in another work. That he accepts some fables need not surprise us: Hiberus is cited in the Act of attainder of Shane O'Neill in 1569, and, on the other side, one writing in 1591 to the Archbishop of Tuam about a proposed landing of Spanish troops to help the Irish, recommends that the mixed force be commanded by a Spaniard, not by the renegade Englishman Stanley, "in respecte of affinitie sythence H*yberus a quo dicitur* H*ibernia* of old tyme." (S.P.Ir. 159.48) If the letter is a forgery as is suspected, the point is only reinforced. Generally, Spenser belonged to the newer sceptical school, and was applying the latest methods as laid down by Jean Bodin—indeed, modern methods, though his judgment of authorities was that of his time and not of ours. His citations are often inaccurate, like those of many con-

temporaries: in the book that was to be, we should certainly have had many more of them—we miss Nennius, Giraldus Cambrensis, William of Malmesbury, Polydore Virgil, and a dozen others that would have been forced on him. As it is, he relies almost entirely on George Buchanan's *Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, 1582, and Camden's *Britannia*, 1586-87-90-94, and on Holinshed. But even here we have, I suspect, a revised version of matter that may have been intended for the Antiquities of Ireland. The MS in the Public Record Office (S.P.I*r*. 202.pt.4.58) contains a version of the historical disquisition varying so considerably from that found in the other texts that I append it here. The omitted lines indicated by dots, are—except for a few scribal slips—identical with the printed text.

I*reni*: Neverthemore are ther twoe: for this which is nowe Called Irelande was ancientlye called Scotlande at which time that which is nowe Scotlande was Called A*lbin*. For in all ancient Authors Irelande is commenlye Called S*cotia maior*. but in processe of time longe after that the S*cythians* or S*cottes* had possessed the lande, the came into the west (as the Iryshe Cronicles make mention, a certayne people out of Spayne which inhabited all the west partes of Mounster and Conaght which whether theye were Spaniardes or no it is verye harde to coniecture.

E*udox*: Yee doe verie boldelye adventure. . . bare tradition of times.

I*reni*: Trulye I muste confesse . . . which I leave vnto the iudgement of the reader to beeleeve or refuse: but where yee saye theye haue alwayes been without lettres yee are therin surelye muche deceved. For it is certaine

that Irelande hathe had the vse of letters verie ancient-lye, and longe beefore Englande: in so muche that in the tyme of the Saxons were glad to sende into Irelande for lerned men for their instruction: amongest which was sent ouer vnto them *Patricius* commenlye called St *Patricke*: who cominge into Englande broughte with them the knowledge of letters and therin Instructed the *Brytons*. Nowe from the Scythians or Scottes of Irelande they had them not: for theye were alwayes barbarous and without letters. Therfore theye had them from the Africans, whoe were alwayes lettered and muche resemblinge the Iryshe, which nowe increasinge in number and in strengthe had beaten the Scottes out of all the westerne partes in to the northe: for the Sowtherne and Easterne partes were formerlye possessed and peopled of the Britons and Galls.

Eudox: Doe you then saye that all Irelande was peopled firste of the Scithians, and afterwardes of the Africans, and from no other nation? This is Contrarie to their owne Cronicles: for they saye that it was rather peopled by the Spaniardes: and that one Gathelus a Spaniarde with his brotheren aryvinge heare did firste inhabit it.

Ireni: I did not saye that it was planted onlie of the Scithians and Africans, but principallye: for that from them twoe cheifelye, I suppose the originall of the Iryshe was derived. But I am not ignorant that it was inhabited also by sundrye other nations: but yet onlye in parte, as moste of the Sowtherne Coaste was possessed of the Galls, as maye appeare by some of their ancient names beinge Called

which were nations of the Gallye as yee maye reade in lykewise the Easterne Coaste and parte of the Sowthe towardes Englande I suppose to haue been peopled from the Brittons: the which I gather hearbye: for that manye wordes of the Iryshe almoste are verye Welshe at least Brytyshe (for the Welshe it selfe as I suppose to bee muche changed from the olde Brytyshe) as fyre is in Welshe Tane: in Iryshe Tuinnye: an heigh lande in Welshe and Iryshe Tarbert: and Curve Cosh eribord, is bothe Welshe and Iryshe. also it appearethe by our cronicles and other olde recordes that Edgar kinge of the Brytons had vnder his obedience all the Islandes in the Northe even to And lyke-wise kinge Arthure had service and homage of them in which appearethe that Irelande was contained, and is also to bee gathered that it receved muche people out of Brytanye, as maye bee proved bye some of their names: namelye the Brins the Tooles, the and manie other, as in his place shalbee shewed. More-ouer I am of opinion that Irelande receved muche people afterwarde from the Saxons, havinge subdued the Britons. for it is vsuallye in the Conquest of anye Countrye that manie of the Conquerours doe plant them selves in the lande of the Conquered. And it is also to bee gathered by verie manie wordes of Irishe beeinge almost mere Saxon: as for example Marh in Saxon is a horse, marrah in Iryshe is a horseman, and to ryde in Iryshe is *gemanus* and so in saxon, or a commen person. all which thenceforthe tradinge and lyvinge together (the Countrie beeinge wyde enoughe for them all) grewe in tracte of Tyme in to one people. But as for that idle opinion which some of

them are redye to take vpp of their inhabitinge by Spaniardes, bothe rather discouer an affection to the Spanishe insolencie and a minde geeven to newefang-glenesse then anie shadowe of truthe. For yf ther were anie suche notable transmission of a Colonie hither out of Spayne, or anie suche famous Conquest of this kingdome by Gathelus a Spaniarde, as theye woulde fayne beeleive, it is not vnlykelie but that the verie Cronicles of Spaine, had Spaine then been in so heigh regarde, as theye nowe haue it, woulde not haue omitted so memorable a thinge, as the subduinge of so noble a Realme, to the Spaniarde, no more then theye doe nowe neglect to memorize their Conquest of the Indians: speciallie in those times, in which the same was supposed, beinge nearer vnto the floryshinge age of learninge and Wryters vnder the Romans. But the Iryshe doe hearin no otherwise then our vayne Englyshemen doe in the tale of Brutus, whome they devise to haue firste conquered and inhabited this lande, it beeinge as impossible to prove that ther euer was anie suche Brutus of Albanye, as it is, that ther anie suche Gathelus of Spaine. But hearin theye shewe their great lightnes, which beeinge a barbarous and salvage nation, woulde faine fetche them selves from Spaine. Lyke as wee and the French also woulde from the Troians: wherin theye muche deceive them selves in their reckoninge for the Spaniarde that nowe is, is come from as rude and salvage nations as they ther beeinge as it maye bee gathered bye vewe of their
scarce anie droppe . . . Afterwarde the Carthaginians vnder Hanniball and Asdruball havinge wonne all that Countrye did (as it is lykelye) . . .

. . . .

E*udox*: Nether haue you since anie more dishonor- ed the Iryshe. for for you haue brought them from verie great, and ancient nations, as anie were in the worlde, howe fondlye so euer theye affect the Spanishe.

I*reni*: I knowe theye doe so: but it is moste vainlye: for by that which I haue heard of some of good iudg- ment in Irelande, and by that which I my selfe haue observed, it shoulde rather seeme that all those families which you name are descended of the Africans (as I earste shewed you. For Maccartye, seemes to haue Come from   that was from a Carthaginian: as the worde it selfe seemes to beewraye. for it is in Iryshe written Maccarthaye: Mac, signifiethe a sonne: and Carthaye beeinge almoste verie Carthage: for *y*: and *g*: ar in moste languages Changable letters, as in Englyshe *yeue* and *geeue*, *yate* and *gate*: *foryett* and *forgett*.

E*udox*: This trulye is a pretye observation. but whence Comes O*driscoll*?

I*reni*: D*ursica* also was a name amongest the Cartha- ginians, as yee maye reade of one so named, that val- iantlye served vnder Asdruball in the first Punicke Warres, which hathe a great resemblance with Driscall: and is the verye same, but changinge a letter. And as for Osullivant, it maye seeme that hee was first de- scended ether from the olde Cullaine, or so called of cominge from the Levant sea, as it were Sullevant

E*udox*: Since ther is nothinge of this vnlykelye, and yet nothinge but lykelyehoodes: But what of Brourke and Oflahartye?

I*reni*: Orourk surelye comes of Rodericke which some saye is a Spanishe name: and it maye well bee

that his ancestor was a Spaniarde: and also that some spaniardes came over with the other Africans, to flye from those troblous times: but it is ancientlye a Scithians name: also as you maye reade in Olaus magnus. and yet all this notwithstandinge, it maye bee that some partes of the west were inhabited by the Spanishe: as namelye when the Moores invaded the kingdome of Granado and Portugall it is certaine that manie of them fled from the furye of that tyme, and forsakinge their owne Countrye went in to other partes: and it might bee came into Irelande, where theye planted, and sythence continewed. but that theye were generallye peopled from Spaine is moste fonde and absurde.

E*udox*: This rippinge vp of Ancestries...

It will be noticed that (1) the reference to St Patrick is quite wrong, and that the additional points are either irrelevant to the main argument or are better dealt with otherwise: they are such things as would be altered on revision. It is difficult to believe that they are additions by another hand; the only motive would be the filling-up of missing pages, and the intrusive matter is too intricately mixed with regular text to allow of that: nor are they mere additions. (2) The reference to "all those families which you name" shows that something has already been cut out. (3) The passage from "For yf ther were anie such notable transmission..." to "...anie such Gathelus of Spaine" is, though differently introduced and in a different place, the passage on page 27 of Ware's edition which he directed to be "crossed out, as being then agreeable to the best MS Copie." The Caius and Bodleian MSS

have a blank space just after the tale of Morrough O'Brien's execution, which may be due to an inadvertence in the archetype; but the scribes were at pains to leave it: the Caius and P.R.O. MSS are connected by identical omissions in another part. I surmise that Spenser originally wrote more history, and then cut it down, after the work was completed, to preserve the balance of the whole; and that copying from his MS began before it was finally fair-copied, so that some partly-revised matter was included in the P.R.O. MS, a scrap of it in Ware's, and a blank page or so was left at the end of the section. The mysterious *Africans* who appear in the final text (and trouble some of the copyists who find no reason for their presence) are a vestige of the original longer version.

In the P.R.O. version, again, there is "hither" meaning "to Ireland" (so also in Caius and T.C.D., but "thither" in the rest), and a "here" or two, which suggests that Spenser had written his first version in Ireland; and not in dialogue form, since he speaks of "the reader". He had drawn upon Campion's MS (see below) and the Book of Howth, both of which were in Ireland. The revision was done with Buchanan, Camden, and Holinshed at hand; Spenser needed to go no further for most of his citations of other authorities. He had indeed looked up Solinus and Pomponius Mela, and he had read Boemus, Lucian, and the *Libellus de Vita Homeri* recently, but Olaus Magnus, Herodotus, and Diodorus Siculus were vague memories cited somewhat at random. The conjecture may be permitted that Spenser brought with

him from Ireland some historical notes—there are parallels enough among the Harleian MSS—which he used for the *View* and then revised in a library. Even as it is, there are blank spaces in all texts, and plain errors of fact, that suggest that another revision was intended.

P.49, l.24. The Scythian and Spanish origin of the Irish is in nearly all the chronicles. Camden, p. 121: "That these Scots came out of Scythia, the Irish Historiographers themselves doe report . . . But the Scots should lose part of their honor and dignity, unlesse they bee brought out of Spayne into Ireland. For, this they both themselves, and their Historiographers labour to proove with all their might and maine; and good reason (I assure you) have they so to do. Unlesse therefore wee find Scythians in Spaine, all our labour is lost . . ." And so on.

P.50, l.14. Buchanan, *Historia*, fol. 18 vo.: "Scoti enim omnes Hiberniae habitatores initio vocabantur . . . Principio autem cum vtrique, id est Hiberniae incolae, & coloni eorum in Albium missi Scoti appellarentur, vt discrimine aliquo alteri ab alteris distinguerentur, initio coepere alteri Scoti Ierni, alteri Scoti Albini vocari: ac paulatim vtrinque cognomenta loco nominis vsurpata efficerunt, vt vetus nomen Scotorum prope obliuioni daretur: ac non ex vsu loquendi, sed annalium memoria repeteretur."

P.50, l.27. Richard Stanyhurst, *Description of Ireland*, in Holinshed's Chronicle, p.2: "as Scotland is named Scotia minor, so Ireland is tearmed Scotia maior." So also Camden. Stanyhurst is probably the source to

which Camden and others refer when they speak of Irish chroniclers: he was Irish born, and claimed knowledge of Irish chronicles.

P.52, l.17. *Berosus*, priest of Babylon: Spenser may have read the fragments of his writings, but does not use them here. *Vincentius*: Vincent of Beauvais, author of *Speculum Maius*, 13th century. *Luddus*: Humphrey Llwyd (1527-68), author of *Angliae . . . Descriptio*, 1573, translated by Twyne as *The Breviary of Britayne*, and heavily attacked by Buchanan.

P.53, l.10. Not in Cæsar; but cf. Buchanan, "Aut quis pro certo tradet, quod a tam incertis auctoribus acceperit?"

P.53, l.23. Ovid, *Ep. ex Ponto*, II. ix. 48.

P.54, l.6. Strabo, *Geographia*, III. i. 7.

P.54, l.8. Strabo, IV. i. 5; also Buchanan, Book II *ad init.*

P.54, l.19. The method of arguing from the names, and some of the examples, are Buchanan's.

P.54, l.23. Pomponius Mela *de Situ Orbis*, III. i; quoted by Buchanan. I cannot find the *Regnie*, who seem to stand for Mela's *Gronii*; but MSS read thus, or nothing.

P.55, l.7. Tacitus, *Agricola*; quoted by Buchanan.

P.55, l.22. These tales, seemingly invented by Fordun and Hector Boece, are discredited by Buchanan and Camden. The curious will find them in Holinshed's chapter on the First Inhabitation of Ireland.

P.58, l.4. *Elizabeth* should of course be *Isabella*; but all MSS except BM. *Addl.* 22022 read thus.

P.59, l.13. Buchanan, fol. 21vo.: "Nec Scotos a Brittonibus toto sermone, sed dialecto potius dis-

crepasse arbitror, vti posterius dicam, cum nunc etiam tam in sermone consentiant, vt eodem aliquando vsi fuisse videantur." He expands this in the following pages, and is followed by Camden, and by Meredith Hanmer.

P.59, l.22. Buchanan fol. 22-24; copied by Camden.

P.59, l.27. Camden, in his description of County Wexford.

P.60, l.8. Buchanan *ut sup.*, and Camden.

P.60, l.10. From Camden, *passim*.

P.60, l.30. T*ol*: modern Welsh *tol*, high: B*rin*, modern Welsh *bryn*, a hill, *not* "woody". C*aune* (with consonantal *u*) may be a form of *cadarn*, strong: but there is not much knowledge behind this. Spenser may have got the hint for this from the Book of Howth, "B*ren* is an ancient name of English; the 30 cap. of Fabian." (C*al.* C*arew* MSS. *p.* 245) But if so he did not verify the reference, for the name B*renne* in Fabyan is only the anglicised form of B*rennus*. O'Donovan, in a note in his translation of the Four Masters, remarks on this passage, stating that the O'Byrnes and O' Tooles came from Kildare. (vol v, 1712)

P.61, l.4. The word had become a technical term: cf. statute 18 Henry VI. *c.* 2 against "such as put themselves into Comrick, or that do take any to Comrick." Spenser takes it as a form of C*ymbri*, or as Camden spells it, C*umeri*. The citation of Diodorus and Strabo is unfounded.

P.61, l.9. See Holinshed's chapter on the First Inhabitation of Ireland.

P.61, l.20. Bede, IV. xxvi; quoted by Holinshed under the year 684. (1807 edition, I, page 634.)

Holinshed, I, 698: "Edgar . . . was ruler and souereigne lord ouer all the kings of the out Iles that lie within the seas about all the coasts of the same Britaine euen vnto the realme of Norwaie. He brought also a great part of Ireland vnder his subiection, with the citie of Dublin, as by authentike recordes it dooth and may appeare."

P.64, l.16. Olæus Magnus, (1490-1568), published *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus*, 1555: an *Epitome* published by Plantin, 1570, was and is more easily found. One might think Spenser was confusing *Suecia* (Sweden) with *Scythia*; but the Scythians were for these men a vague "northern nation," whom the modern northern nations represented well enough.

Johannes Boemus, *Mores, Leges, et Ritus Omnium Gentium*, ed. of 1561, p. 114; speaking of the Scythians: "per solitudines & inculta vagabatur loca, armenta pecoraque prae se agens." Of the Tartars, p. 125 "armenta pascere, obscuri nominis inter Scythas."

P.65, l.29. We reproduce here two of the cuts in John Derrick's *Image of Ireland*, 1581, which best illustrates the dress and horse-furniture of the Irish at this time. The whole book is worth comparing with Spenser's description.

P.66, l.5. *Elias mantle*: 1 Kings, xx. 19; 2 Kings ii. 8, 13-14. *Diodorus*: I can find nothing to the purpose. Of the Egyptians, Herodotus says only that "the men go in two garments, the women in one." (B.R.'s translation, 1584) Spenser may be confusing them with the Babylonians: "Their vsuall custome is to go clothed in two garments, one of linnen downe to the feete, another of wollen drawne vppon the same:

aboute their shoulders they cast a cloake of whyte colour." *Berenice*: I can find nothing to the purpose. *Venus* appears with a "mantle lined with stars" in Botticelli's picture of her birth, but I have not found the authority for this beautiful astronomical notion.

P.66, l.15. This is not in Virgil, nor have I found it. Spenser is thinking of *Aeneid* VIII. 175-183, and of a phrase from the description of Dido's feast, I. 702: "tonsisque ferunt mantelia villis," where *mantelia*, however, means *napkins*.

P.67, l.15. An unnamed writer in the year 1589, gives nine reasons for abolishing the Irish habit, of which we need quote only the eighth: "The mantle servinge vnto the Irishe as to a hedghogge his skynne or to a snaile her shell for a garment by daie, and a house by night it maketh them with the Contynuall vse of it, more apt and able to liue and lie out in bogges and woodes, where their mantle serveth them for a mattras and a bushe for a bedsteede, and thereby are lesse addicted to a loyall dutifull and Civill lieffe." (S.P.Ir.144.57 ii)

P.69, l.5. A *safegard* was an outer skirt for riding and travel.

P.70, l.21. I can find nothing to the purpose in either Diodorus or Herodotus.

P.70, l.28. Herodotus records the battle in which Cyrus was slain, I. 214; but says nothing about calling on the king's name.

P.71, l.5. O'Brien's war-cry and its meaning were added by Ware: the MSS leave blanks. It may have slipped Spenser's memory. *Cromabo* was the Kildare Fitzgeralds' war-cry, from the castle of Crom. Statute

10 Henry VII *c*.20 forbade the using of the words *Cromabo* and *Butlerabo*.

P.71, l.15. Buchanan, Book IV, fol.33 vo.

P.71, l.25. Richard Stanyhurst (1547-1618), son of the Recorder of Dublin, wrote (besides a notorious translation of Virgil) a Description of Ireland published in Holinshed's Chronicle, but the reference here is to his history *de Rebus in Hibernia Gestis*, published by Plantin, 1584, p. 43: "Totus autem tam equitatus, quam peditatus, quoties ad manus, & pugnam venitur, alta voce, PHARRO, PHARRO, inclamat. Verum a rege Pharaone, Gandali socero, an ab alia caussa clamor iste natus sit, parum ad rem attinet explicare." The same is in Campion's history.

P.72. l.12. The play of words on σκότος is in Camden, and in Stanyhurst's own book: "Subinsulsa est eorum opinio, qui verbi vim ad Graecas litteras reuocantes, a vocula σκότος, quod obscuritas tenebris fuerit opacata, insulam nominari confirmant." (*de Rebus in* H.G., *p.* 17)

P.72, l.17. The *matters of more weight* were those of religion: Stanyhurst went over to Rome in 1580, and was still a fugitive abroad. Spenser probably had his opinion about his poetry also.

P.73, l.1. Jacob, not Joseph: *Genesis*, l. 3: "The Egyptians bewayled him seuentie dayes." The Geneva Bible has the side-note: "They were more excessive in lamenting then the faithfull."

P.73, l.8. 1 *Thessalonians*, iv. 13: "I would not brethren, haue you ignorant concerning them which are asleepe, that ye sorow not euen as other which haue no hope." Side-note: "We must take heede that

we doe not immoderately bewaile the dead, that is, as they vse to doe which thinke that they are vtterly perished."

P.73, l.11. Not in Diodorus.

P.74, l.5. Olaus Magnus, VIII. xi, mentions various kinds of swords used by the Goths, including broad two-handed ones.

P.74, l.7. Buchanan, fol. 9: "Sunt qui gladiis latis, aut securibus pugnant."

P.74, l.10. Olaus devotes two chapters, VII. i and ii, to bows and arrows, but his description of northern archery is very different from this.

P.74, l.24. Olaus says nothing about broad shields; nor does Solinus.

P.74, l.30. Herodianus was translated by N. Smyth about 1550, but the reference probably comes from Buchanan's quotation of the passage, fol. 30 vo.: "loricae, ac galee penitus ignorant vsu." So also Llwyd, fol 88.

P.75, l.16. Not in Plutarch, but in the pseudo-Herodotean Life of Homer, xxxvii. T.C.D. MS. reads H*eroditus*.

P.76, l.2. Lucian—otherwise quoted accurately enough—says the oath was by the sword and the wind, not the fire. Ware quotes an Irish parallel from the Annals of Ulster.

P.76, l.13. For a modern trace of this, see *Grace for Light*, in Moira O'Neill's *Songs of the Glens of Antrim*.

P.76, l.24. Herodotus, IV. 70; the citation of Buchanan is inaccurate. T*he same book* is Lucian's T*oxaris*.

P.77, l.14. Camden, in his chapter on Tipperary. I

find no evidence for Scythian lycanthropy, but Olaus Magnus, XVIII. 32-33, discusses the subject.

P.79, l.7. This Statute is already cited, p. 42.

P.79, l.28, Boemus, III. 23: "Feminae res domesticas, agrorumque culturas administrant."

P.80, l.18. Malory, *Morte Darthur*, XVIII. 8, 15.

P.80, l.28. Caesar speaks only of the Druids (*de* B.G., VI. 13-14); Buchanan equates the Druids with the Bards.

P.80, l.32. Caesar, *de* B.G. v. xiv, speaking of the Kentish tribes: "neque multum a Gallica differunt consuetudine."

P.81, l.2. Not in Caesar, though he often mentions *maturae, tragulae, pila*. Boemus, III. 22: "gladius longus . . . clypeus etiam longus, hastae ad proportionem."

Boemus reports this of the Spaniards, not of the Gauls, III. 23: "gladios ex ferro puro ad palmi mensuram."

P.81, l.11. Solinus, xxii. 3: "Sanguine interemptorum hausto prius victores vultus suos oblinunt."

P.81, l.16. Morrogh O'Brien was beheaded 1st July, 1576. *Cal. Carew* MSS. 1575-88, *p.* 104.

P.83, l.5. Of this letter there is a copy in the Book of Howth, and two among the Carew MSS. It was addressed to the Earl of Rutland, then Lord Deputy. Holinshed prints it, vol. VI. 261-2, as from Campion's papers. Campion, however, as printed by Ware in 1633, has another letter, from Richard of York to the Earl of Salisbury, with a conspicuous (though erroneous) heading to the Earl of Shrewsbury. Holinshed prints it with the heading corrected. So Spenser had access to Campion's papers or to some

copy of them. Also he verified his references hastily.

P.84, l.10. Solinus, I. 110: "...accepimus...Messallam certe Corvinum post aegritudinem quam pertulerat percussum proprii nominis oblivione . . ." From Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vii. 24.2, but Spenser probably took it from Solinus, whom he was using for other purposes.

P.84, l.14. Campion, and Hooker (Description of Ireland in Holinshed) have the same story, based on the meaning *Bear's sons*. So also Camden, under County Monaghan. It seems to have been commonly accepted. The etymology of the Macswinies seems to be by analogy, the name *Vere* being commonly derived from *verres*, a boar. The history of Robert Earl of Oxford is thoroughly confused; he was created Duke of Ireland, but was never there.

P.85, l.17. Thomas, 8th Earl of Desmond, was executed in 1468. Campion says: "When he had spoken certaine disdainfull words against the late marryage of King *Edward* with the Lady *Elizabeth Gray*, the said Lady being now Queene, caused his trade of life . . . to be sifted . . . Of which treasons he was . . . beheaded at Droghedah." Holinshed copied Campion: Spenser might get it from either, or both.

P.86, l.16. The Berminghams were Barons of Athenry in Connaught. In 1576 Sir Henry Sidney described the father of Spenser's contemporary as "a poor baron, though the ancientest in this land" (MSS *Carew*, II. 49.) They seem inoffensive and loyal enough, but Camden says "they being now as it were degenerate into barbarous Irishry, scarce acknowledge themselues to haue beene English originally." Maccor-

ish (in some MSS N*occorish*) seems to be a corruption of the Berminghams' native name, M*ac* F*eoris*, *son of* P*eter*. The great M*ortimer* left no descent in Ireland. The only hint I have found is a note mentioning "Macnemaries alias Mortimers country" in A D*escription of* I*reland*, 1598, ed. E. Hogan, 1878, p. 124: and that might be derived from this. The poor estate of the C*ourcys* of Kinsale is often referred to; MacCarthy of Carbery held Courcy's land in 1588 (S.P.I*r*. 134.98)

P.88, l.11. The danger of fostering and intermarriage between English and Irish is one of the commonest of complaints: acts against both were passed, 28 Henry VIII. *c*. 28; against fostering, 11 Eliz. *c*. 6.

P.88, l.29. S. Matthew, xii. 34: "For of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh."

P.89, l.24. The particular law in Spenser's mind was 28 Henry VIII *c*. 15. In this, mantles are allowed for travelling. In July, 1596, Wallop recommended the issue of mantles and country brogues to the troops, but was heavily rebuked in August. (S.P.I*r*. 200.59, 94.)

P.90, l.29. Not in Aristotle that I can find, but see Herodotus I. 158, which Spenser has elaborated a little, after the Elizabethan manner.

P.91, l.14. S*ir* T*hopas*, 19-24 and 149-154. Spenser defines *ciclatoun* wrongly; it was a thin cloth. He also echoes himself as well as Chaucer: compare "His shoon of Cordewane" (S*ir* T*hopas*, 21) with "buskins of costly Cordwayne" (F.Q. II. iii. 27.3) and "Buskins he wore of costliest cordwayne" (VI. ii. 6.1).

P.92, l.32. The etymology is from Holinshed, VI, p. 132: "There are in Ireland three sorts or degrees of

soldiers: the first is the horsseman... the second degree is the Kernaugh, and he also is a gentleman or a free-holder borne... he is a light soldier on foot; his armor is both light and slender, being a skull, a left gantlet or a target, a sword and skeine, and three or four darts: the third degree is the Galloglasse, who was first brought in to this land by the Englishmen, and thereof taketh his name. For Galloglas is to saie, an English yeoman or serueant; his armor is a skull, a iacke, an habergeon or shirt of male, a sword and a sparre, otherwise named a Galloglasse ax or halbert...These in all hostings haue attending vpon them a number of boies and kerne, and who doo spoile and kill all such as be ouerthrowne and hurt in the fields."

P.97, l.3. Not knowing Irish, I have consulted the erudite: but am told this description might cover many poems, and no one is identifiable.

P.99, l.20. This story was quoted recently in an Irish newspaper as still a good and apposite joke.

P.100, l.6. Cf. O'Donovan's note in his edition of the Four Masters, vol. V, 1788: "The Oireactas, *anglice* Iraghts, was a meeting, or conference, held by the Irish on hills for the purpose of deliberating about their public affairs, and which frequently ended in a fight."

P.102, l.7. Holinshed and Camden cite the tradition that Stonehenge is the burial-place of Ambrosius Aurelius. Camden, speaking of Selbury, says further: "Many of that sort, round and with sharpe toppes are to bee seene in this tract: *Burrowes* they call them and *Barrowes*, raised, happily in memoriall of Soldiers there slaine. For... read I have, how an usuall thing it

was with the Northerne nations, that everie soldier remaining alive after a foughten field, should carrie his head-peece full of earth toward the making of their fellowes tombes that were slaine." The like is also in Lambarde's *Kent*, and in Olaus Magnus. The scriptural reference is to *Joshua*, iv., and to places in *Genesis*.

P.103, l.29. There are innumerable complaints, not only from Irish and English-Irish, but from officials. A "Declaration of the present state of the English Pale" (B.M., *Titus* xii, 99) complains of soldiers "placinge them selves at their pleasures exactinge meate and drinke far more then competente and Comonly money for them, their Boyes women and Followers much excedinge the peoples habilitye ... And if they be not satisfyed with meate and money accordinge to their outragious Demandes then do they beate their poore hostes and their people Ransackinge their house." For specific cases, see S.P.Ir., 144.56, 3; 145. 27, and many orders for restraint of such abuse; also 94. 92, a warrant for execution of certain soldiers for this cause. William Lyon, then Bishop of Ross and Carbery, and certainly at least an acquaintance of Spenser, gives details: "Moreover for the disorder of the Soldiours amonges the people which bredeth great hatred to our nacion, and not without cause. This I can report of my self, for the tyme that I lay in Cork ... the Soldiors that lie there ... haue horseboyes which goe out into the Contrey ... and fetche in horse loades of Corne of the pore people day by day, they havinge no other sustenance to releive them and their famelies then their little Corne, about which they haue taken great paynes and travell, and yf they

comme to rescue yt from the horseboyes, they fall vpon them, and beate them, and cut them in the heades most lamentable to see. Then comme they and Complayne to the Maior of the Cytie and shewe hym their hurtes: his aunswer is this, you must haue patience for I cannot remedie yt, and yt is true in deede for they esteme no more of the Maior then a man will doe of his horseboy, and their wordes are theis to the Maior, and the best of the towne. Ye are but Beggers, Rascalles, and Traytors, and I am a soldiour and a gentleman. And also I haue sene the poore people come with their heddes cutt, before Sir Warham St leger knight, and my self complaynynge of their grefe, but the soldiors haue Conveyed them selves and their boyes out of the way, for they are lawlesse, and I thinke in Conscience (speakinge yt with grefe of hart) emonges the heathen there is no suche wicked soldiors." (Oct. 9, 1582. S.P.I*r*. 96.10 ii)

P.105, l.28. Another commonplace. Sir Richard Grenville, writes to Walsingham, 14th Oct., 1589, mentions "the Inconveniences that do growe by the vncerteyne course that the Lordes and Captaines holde in settinge their Landes to their Tenantes, who hold the same not above 4 yeares, and so wander from one place to another, which course being redressed, and they comaunded to sett their Landes as the vndertakers muste doe, wold do muche good to breede Cyvilitie generally, in the Countrey. For whearas nowe the poore man is never certaine to enioye the fruites of his owne labour, and knoweth not in certeyne what his Lorde will haue of him. For feare, he must depende on him and followe all his actions be they good or

badde, where otherwais, if the poore Tenaunte held his lande by lease for his lief or for xxi yeares, at a certeyne rente then were he sure of his charge and that the overplus were his owne, So wold he depende on her Maiestie and her Lawes to be defended againste the oppressions which nowe too comonly every lorde vsethe." So also Bryskett, 92.29, declares he had warrant to hold certain disputed lands, "and to take the best order I could for preserving them from lyeing wast, which in this countrey is a thing sone brought to passe and comonly sene, onlesse great dilligence be vsed in keping the tenauntes at May, who never have but one yeres estate in their farmes, and are free to departe every yere if the list." In Dec., 1598, Justice Saxey of Munster reports that the Churl "by whom the Lord and cheiffe gentleman doth live, is apt to followe his Lord in all Rebellion and Mischeife, And the reason thereof is, That the Irish Tenantes have theire estate but from yeare to yeare, or at moste for three yeares, In regard of which short and weake state, they have not any care to make any strong or defensible houses or buildinges, to plant or to enclose . . . they possesse nothinge which they maye not with ease Carrye or Drive awaye or convert into money." The remedy is that leases be for at least 21 years or three lives, with all rents and services agreed and recorded in writing, "And then the Tenauntes would be encouraged to build strongly, to plant and to enclose," and would not follow his lord easily into mischief. (MS *Titus* B. xii, fol. 92 vo.) So also an anonymous S.P.Ir. 79.55: "It were very Necessary by Order to Constraine euery Lord when he letteth his Land to

let the same by writeing or before Sufficient Wittnesses publiquely, at which time he should [declare?] all the Covenants of their Agreement beyond which he should by noe means exact vpon a Penalty, also that he should demise the same, for a Terme, as for years or Lives whereby the Tennant might be incouraged to build a Dwelling house in some decent order, where now they Live brutishly all in a Cott or rather a Stye, more like beasts then men. And thus the Lords Revenue, and the Tennants Wealth would be certaine, and he comforted to proceed in his Industrious Labours, when he might hope to enjoy of Benefitt thereof." So also others.

P.109, l.10. This has more bearing on our notion of Spenser. His complaint is not so much that the Irish are Papists, as that they are not even good Papists. This is somewhat the attitude of William Lyon, who says, writing to Hunsdon, July 6, 1596: "A great part of the people of this kingdom are no better than mere infidels, having but a bare name of Christians, without any knowledge of Christ or light of his truth, in that I myself have examined divers of them, being sixty years of age and upwards, and have found them not able to say the Lord's Prayer, or the articles of the Christian faith, neither in English, Latin, nor Irish." (*Cal.* S.P.*Ir.*, 191.8.)

P.110, l.6. This is (more or less) Camden's version: Holinshed rightly states that Palladius left Ireland before his death.

P.113, l.3. S.P.*Ir.* 160.4.1 consists of 20 pages of such charges, backed by depositions, against Myler Magrath, Archbishop of Cashel. There are others in

addition; but Magrath held his see 51 years. Cf. 165. 32, against Loftus of Dublin, probably by Barnaby Riche. Hanmer's character in England, before he became Archdeacon of Cork, was bad; and there is only too much other evidence. Cf. *Cal. Carew* MSS, 1579, 203; and *Cal.* S.P.*Ir.* 131.64. S.P.*Ir.* 79.55 remarks "Altho for the most parte the Incumbentes are vnlearned, yet might they be Inforced to read the Lords Prayer, and the Beleife in Inglish" And Sir Edward Phyton, (130.55): "The Churchmen collect their tythes with most rygor and neyther give foode temporall nor spirituall as is reported." Most of the complaints come from laymen: the clergy content themselves with demanding High Commission Courts.

P.113, l.32. Statute 28 Henry VIII *c.* 15.7 deals with the provision of English-speaking clergy, and may have been in Spenser's mind: I have found nothing nearer his statement.

P.116, l.14. Trinity College, Dublin, founded in 1591.

P.117, l.17. Robert Gardener, Chief Justice, notes, Jan. 4, 1589, the abuse of "A common alowance for head silver to suche as bringe heades never examyninge or knowinge whose heades whither of the best or worst, so no safty for any man to travell. a strange course in a Christian estate." (S.P.*Ir.* 150.4)

P.119, l.22. Spenser is thinking mainly, perhaps, of Grey and Perrot, but the thing was unavoidable under the service conditions. There was bickering between Perrot and Fitzwilliam in their turn.

P.120, l.21. Camden, *Ireland*, p. 62, has the form

Banno, as also Hanmer. The form *Banna* is commoner. The MSS vary.

P.121, l.28. *Quem metuunt oderunt*: the opening of a line of Ennius, quoted by Cicero, *de Officiis* II. 23; but Spenser has not heeded Cicero's argument.

P.122, l.25. I take it Spenser means the Earl of Ormond, whose attention might be turned by this compliment from other passages which might not please him.

P.123, l.8. This was the general opinion. Cf. Grey to Walsingham, Jan. 15, 1581, in Spenser's hand: "Neyther can anye platt take place before force haue playned the grownde for the fowndacion, which onlye for presente muste bee her Maiesties Charge and dispence, A thinge no dowbte for the tyme verye heavie yet in thend will bee broughte in with no smale advauntage beesydes greater honor in case it bee throwghlie followed but one yeare. (Yea halfe I hope in god I mighte saye)" (S.P.Ir. 80.10) Russell, in *Titus* B *xii*, 171 vo., "The meane to redresse must be the Sword, which is Iustice armed." According to his officer Docwra, Bingham "Founde, and sawe, that Lingring servyce could not but greatly Chardge hir Majestie, and muche encourage the enemye, A softe, kinde of warre that hath bin to, to longe vsed in this Realme." (*Misc. Celtic Soc.*, 1849)

P.125, l.14. In Sept., 1595, Wallop estimated the army costs at the same figure, £12,000 a month, the ordinary charge being about £8,500. He deprecates the Queen's displeasure—often and forcibly expressed—and defends the expenditure as promoting efficiency and shortening the war. (S.P.Ir. 183.57)

P.128, l.12. A map of Ireland was available in the atlas of Ortelius (1573), but there were many MS maps. See Dunlop's catalogue in *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, 1905. The strategical scheme first enters here, as a plan of campaign: the scheme of permanent garrisons outlined later is the same in skeleton: as it covers all Ireland its lines will be discussed there. *Castleliffer* and *Castle Finn* were O'Donnell's chief residences, and important river-crossings.

P.129, l.6. The permanent problem of victualling troops in the presence of an energetic enemy expert in guerilla warfare was complicated by the nature of the country. Wallop emphasises it often, in the light of such affairs as that of "the Ford of the Biscuits," in July, 1594, when George Bingham was ambushed with his convoy, and lost 56 men killed and 69 wounded. It was not helped by lack of system and of discipline in the services, and by the method of charging the soldier so much a day for rations. This last, especially, as Wallop calculated, that the charges were apt to exceed the total pay, was largely responsible for the disorders discussed above. On taking over the victualling in 1595, Wallop tried to decentralise, but not so completely as Spenser suggests. See a long report of his dated 27 Sept., 1595, in *Cal.* S.P.*Ir.* 183.5.

P.129, l.18. The enemy's *creet* is his cattle-herd.

P.130, l.5. For an example of an energetic and well-planned campaign, see Bingham's report of his "journey" against the Burkes, *Cal.* S.P.*Ir.*, 165.66. Many cattle were taken, and Docwra reports the result: "These men vppon thier submission were soe Pyned awaye for want of Foode, and soe ghasted with

Feare within, vij or viij weeks, by reason, they were so roundlye Followed, without any interim of rest, that they looked rayther like to ghosts then men." (*Op. cit.*, p. 203)

P.130, l.28. Cf. *The Times* leader, Oct. 11, 1930: "It must be remembered too that winter is at hand and that during the winter the Pathans become far more vulnerable both to military and to economic pressure . . . In the coming cold season punitive action, however restricted it might be by financial considerations, and by the natural desire of the Government to avoid injuring its friends and pensioners in Afridistan, would cause infinitely more inconvenience than in summer, when the agile Pathan can at worst take to the mountain-tops and avoid the attentions of an expedition."

P.133, l.14, In the report mentioned above, Bingham repeats his conviction that once the chiefs and professional fighting men were checked, the churls would welcome the regime that gave them peace and security. As we have seen, the opinion was common, and there may have been something in it at one time.

P.135, l.14. This has been dealt with in the introduction. Spenser disregards the length of the Desmond feud for the purpose of his argument.

P.137, l.21. A general pardon was sent over in April 1581: the drafts are in S.P.I*r*. 82.43-3. Grey protested (April 24 and 26) in letters the substance of which is reproduced by Spenser here. Grey declares he never executed any that submitted, but he left a long trail behind him. Among the officials he seems to have been better liked and more respected than any Deputy

since Sir Henry Sidney, or any successor during the period. Wallop, Loftus, Brady (Bishop of Meath), and others testify to his qualities, and Ludovick Bryskett's tribute is worth quoting, since only strong feeling could embolden such a minor official to protest so vigorously against the action of the Queen and Council "... his Lordship conceiveth great hope to be discharged: and common brute and reporte maketh it publike. For his owne satisfaction truly I wishe it, and shall thinke him happie, when it shalbe accomplished, But for the State and weale publike I must nedes thinke it the miserablest case that may befall. For if he that hath recovered the State languishing in extremitie of death (as I may say) and hath even in a forced course reduced thinges to that good stay which (God be thanked) they are nowe in, whose Iustice is a terror to the wicked, and a comforte vnto the good, whose sinceritie very envie it self cannott touche, and whose wisdome might, in the oppinion of the wysest that consider his proceedinges, governe a whole Empyre, shall ... be called away: what can be sayd but that the secrett Iudgement of God hangeth over this soyle...." (S.P.I*r*. 92.29) Grey's own words confirm Spenser's opinion of him: "I feare I shall doe your Highness litle service emongst [the Irish]; for certeinly a harde and forcible hand, I too well fynd, must bring them to duety, which I confesse, falles not with my nature." (S.P.I*r*. 78.29) This after four months only: I take Grey to have been one of those simple, upright, conscientious men who see things black or white, and can be harder than less estimable characters.

P.138, l.1. The Earl of Kildare was suspected by

Grey, and arrested. Spenser is being careful, as Kildare was again in favour; but it seems clear that the families of the Pale were responsible for most of Grey's troubles.

P. 139, l. 2. This could not but be true, since the conspirators were members of the prominent families who held all the local and many of the national legal posts.

P. 139, l. 16. This also is in the introduction. It may serve to insert here the relevant part of Grey's despatch of 12th November, written "In campe at Smerwicke" in Spenser's most careful and beautiful Italian hand. Grey had an interview with Alexandro Bartoni, the Campmaster, and a Spanish captain, who explained that the expedition was sent by the Pope; when Grey had made clear his opinion of the Pope, "theyr fault therefore sawe to bee aggrauated by the vilenesse of their Commaunder, and that at my handes no condition of composition they were to expecte, other then that simply they should render me the forte, and yield theyr selues to my will for lyfe or death: with this answere he departed; after which there was one or twoo courses two and fro more, to haue gotten a certeinty for some of their liues, but fynding that yt would not bee, the Coronell him self about sunne setting came forth, and requested respitt with surcease of armes till the nexte morning, and then he would giue a resolute answere; fynding that to bee but a gayne of tyme for them and losse of the same for my self, I definitely answered I would not graunt yt, and therefore presently either that he tooke my offer or elles retourne and I would fall to my busines. He then embraced my knees, simply putting him self to my mercy, onely he prayed that for that

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night hee might abyde in the Forte, and that in the morning all should be putt into my handes: I asked hostages for the performance; they were giuen. Morning come I presented my companies in battaile before the Forte: the Coronell comes forth with x or xij of his chiefe ientlemen, trayling theyr ensignes rolled vp, and presented them vnto mee with theyr liues and the Forte: I sent streight certein gentlemen in to see their weapons and armures layed downe and to gard the munition and victaile there lefte for spoile: Then putt I in certeyn bandes, who streight fell to execution. There were 600 slayne; munition and vittaile great store, though much wasted through the disorder of the Souldier, which in that furie could not bee helped. Those that I gaue lyfe vnto, I haue bestowed vpon the Capteines and gentlemen, whose seruice hath well deserued: . . . Your Maiesty at this service had here but 800; they haue [putt] out of a Forte well fortefied, better victailed, excellently stored with armure [? and] munition, 600 whereof 400 were as gallant and goodly personages, as of any [. . .] I euer beheld. So hath yt pleased the Lord of hostes to deliuer your enemies into [? your] Highnes handes." (S.P.I*r*. 78.29)

P.140, l.2. The Colonel was Sebastiano di San Joseppi, whose papers form the volume I*nghilterra* 2 of the series N*unziature* in the Vatican Archives. According to a list of prisoners (S.P.I*r*. 78.28) his secretary was "Austin Brano," an Italian. "Signior Ieffrey"—in MS Harl. 1932, I*aguas*, in Addl. 22022, I*acques*—I cannot identify, unless Spenser were trying to recall, and his copyists to transmit, the name of Paulo Giustinani (Iustiniani in the prisoner-list), the paymaster of

the force, who was afterwards sent to Rome on a fruitless quest for ransom-money. San Joseppi was an Italian professional soldier, the first of his papers being his commission as "commissary, vulgarly *pagatore*" to Thomas Stucley. After Stucley's death at the battle of Alcazar, a plan was hatched in Spain by which Stucley's scheme of a descent on Ireland should be revived, with San Joseppi in command. After the collapse of the enterprize, he seems to have been blamed for his conduct, especially by one Fra Matteo d' Oviedo, who had sailed with him from Spain, for his papers include testimonials from his officers, and, luckily, a draft report and defence endorsed to the Papal Secretary of State. From this I translate the relevant portion as he first wrote it, his alterations being only verbal and for brevity's sake or to avoid offence at headquarters.

The troops in the fort being demoralised by the English bombardment and refusing to fight, "we held a council, the campmaster, "Olivero Plunquetto," some others and I, and it was resolved to treat for surrender to the enemy on some honorable terms, upon which a parley was held; however, he would never hear of any terms of surrender, except that he would have us at his discretion. I hearing this and knowing what would follow, confessed myself and communiicated, making my officers do the same, with firm purpose to let myself be cut in pieces before surrendering. And this done I went to all the soldiers, telling them the answer from the Viceroy's side, which meant nothing other than their death." They replied that they preferred death to the miseries they had endured. "I seeing no further means of holding out, and the enemy

being greatly reinforced by the arrival of the Earl of Ormond with 1500 soldiers, with great grief I have to tell Your Lordship that we were forced to surrender to the Viceroy at his mercy, which was that, entering the fort, he had all the soldiers cut to pieces, and also a few sailors who were in the ship." San Joseppi complains of Fra Matteo; of Desmond and his brother Sir John, "feeble subjects having little experience, I say none, of war," who gave neither help nor favour; of his troops, Biscay men "the most useless for soldiering that ever I saw"; of the reinforcements from Spain that never arrived; of one "Macamur" an Irishman introduced by Desmond as a principal man of these parts from whom they would draw supplies, but who provided neither horses, men, nor timber, and deserted to Grey, to whom he betrayed the weak points of the fort; and of the Irish, especially the priests, who accompanied the force from Spain, but were "full of ambition, interested, and wished to get money and to domineer over the enterprize like men without minds." But neither in this defence nor in his correspondence with Giustiniani and others is there any complaint of Grey's alleged treachery.

The Papal Nuncio in France, who was the regular channel for English and Irish news, heard of the disaster on 15th Dec., through the English Ambassador, clearly in terms of Grey's despatch. On the 29th he learned from London, where the prisoners were, that it was "caused by the failure of the relief which the Catholics expected from the Earl of Desmond, who was near at hand but either could not or would not come to close

quarters." On 26th Jan., 1581, the *pagatore* (Giustiniani) arrived on his way to Rome, and reported the ill behaviour of the Biscay men, who would not fight "however the Colonel beat some and killed some to give them force." On 19th Feb., "There passed here an Italian soldier in very poor state, who says he was in Ireland with the rest when Smerwick was taken . . . who gave me an account of that success little differing from that which I have already written," except that the promised help from Spain did not arrive, and that Desmond's following was no more than 50 or 100 gentlemen of the country. On 8th May, however, he reports that Grey could not rely on the Irish—including, presumably, the English-Irish—"who do not trust him since under parole he so maltreated those Italians and Spaniards of Smerwick." (*Nunz. Francia*)

The story of Grey's perfidy, then, was an English or Irish rumour, and, incidentally, achieved its purpose. Whatever we may think of the massacre, the attack on Smerwick was a very well-conducted though risky affair. The staff work was excellent, since according to San Joseppi the navy arrived on 27th October and the land forces on the 28th, and the bombardment was skilfully directed and intensely maintained. The calumny may well have been invented by Grey's enemies to diminish the credit to which he and Wynter, the Admiral who cooperated with him, were certainly entitled.

P.141, l.15. The *Lords Justices*, Loftus and Wallop, governed from Grey's departure in August, 1582 until Perrot's arrival in June, 1584. They differed as

Spenser says, Loftus wishing that Desmond be pardoned, Wallop being harder; they both wished to have Grey back.

P.142, l.2. The sinister phrase about purposes of his own refers no doubt to the rumours which led to Perrot's trial for treason on his return, that he had designs on more permanent power than that of a Lord Deputy. His real fault was clearly what Camden called "his owne lavish tongue . . . for unadvisedly hee had let flie somewhat against the Princes Majestie." Next after him came Fitzwilliam.

P.142, l.16. Cf. Grey, Aug. 12, 1581: "I know hir Maiesties inclinacion so bente, vppon temporising withe a calme and peceable cours, as I would not enter into a matter of warre, that afterwardes might lacke dew prosecution." (S.P.I*r*. 85.13)

P.143, l.2. Another commonplace; as Keeper of Musters for Wexford Spenser knew something about it. See Wallop's letter of Aug. 13, 1595 in *Cal.* S.P.I*r*. and *passim*.

P.146, l.21. The great Shane O'Neill had 7 sons, two of whom, being legitimate, were valuable according to English ideas. The captaincy was not hereditary, but they had prestige as their father's sons; the notion is as old as 1579 (S.P.I*r*. 65.5), and Tyrone kept them close. Turlough Lynagh, Shane's successor, died in September, 1595, a drunken old man, but O'Neill, and so an obstacle to Tyrone's ambition. Tyrone had himself inaugurated at once, despite his vows never to do so.

P.147, l.27. In Oct., 1595, Captain George Thornton, an old acquaintance of Spenser, was sent to

negotiate with Argyll and Maclean for mercenaries, but nothing was done. (S.P.I*r.* 183.77) Turlough Lynagh had married Lady Agnes Campbell, Argyll's daughter, and there were many other intermarriages.

P.149, l.8. There is something like this in the Act of Attainder of Shane O'Neill, 1569, and in Camden; but they attribute the rise or revival of O'Neill's power to the Wars of the Roses. Spenser is making only a vague summary.

P.150, l.30. The elective chieftaincy always baffled the English mind. Feagh MacHugh rose to power on the death of Teige Oge O'Byrne in 1578, the head of a different branch of the clan whose fortunes were on the decline as Feagh's rose. (The Four Masters, V. 1702, 9, 12-13, and O'Donovan's notes)

P.151, l.18. Russell was pressing Feagh in Feb., 1595, when more serious affairs in Ulster drew him off. He captured Feagh in 1597. Lord Chancellor Gerrarde wrote as early as 1580, before the rise of Tyrone, "the most who have travelled to seeke refourm and the best experyenced have ever sett downe their plattes to begynne with [the Byrnes and Tooles] to expell them and sett ij or iij Fortes and place Englishe." (S.P.I*r.* 76.6)

P.155, l.26. Gerrarde complains of the difficulty of finding good officers, and of the superseding of experienced captains by new ones. He says Grey objected to this practice; as we might expect of him.

P.156, l.1. Contrariwise, Sir Callisthenes Brooke applied for a transfer to the Low Countries, on the ground that he was not learning his profession proper-

ly in these guerilla affairs, which required huntsmen, not soldiers.

P. 156, l. 18. *Parere qui nescit, nescit imperare* is as old as Aristotle's *Politica*, and apparently older still.

P. 157, l. 9. An old story. For the same in England, see Harrison in Holinshed's Chronicle, Harman, and all books on vagrancy and Poor Laws, also *Mother Hubberds Tale*, 183 ff. and our note thereon. Burleigh's view was that soldiering was "a Science no longer in Request then use. For Souldiers in Peace, are like Chimneys in Summer." (To his Son, in Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, p. 65) Walsingham had more sympathy: see *The Ruines of Time*, 440-448, which may refer particularly to his support of Bingham. Grey' despatches show his thoughtfulness for the advancement of his captains and for his men. In the Smerwick despatch, for instance, he writes to the Queen: "I most humbly therefore beseech your Maiesty in consideration of your owne servise and compassion of the poore, ragged, and naked creatures to affoord them a thorough pay." He recommends discharged soldiers in several letters, and persistently refused to disband troops after the Munster wars until arrangements had been made for their pay and transport home.

P. 160, l. 9. This typical officialism recalls the instructions to Perrot in S.P.Ir. 121.53, that suspected persons "together with the Galloglasses and kerne of those partes neere the attainted lands be first removed (by such meanes as may bee without offence as nere as may bee) to some remote parts provided of some convenient place for habitacion where they may bee im-

ployed in profitable service." Cf. Ralegh, *Maxims of State*: "The safest way is . . . that some good part of the Natives be transplanted into some other place, and our Colonies . . . be planted there in some part of the Province, *Castles*, *Forts*, and *Havens*." Spenser advocates as a permanent reorganisation the operation carried out as a temporary war measure in South Africa in 1901-2, and for the same reasons that applied there, or anywhere in guerilla warfare in the enemy's country.

P.161, l.12. The policy of plantation was very old and much discussed; and is too well known to discuss again.

P.162, l.6. This is Spenser's answer to Burleigh's complaint to Wallop, that he marvelled the Council of Ireland could not make that realm self-supporting. (S.P.Ir. 178.67) A *chiefery* is a money rent.

P.162, l.14. Holinshed I. p. 10: "They planted their forworne legions in the most fertile places of the realme, and where they might best lie for the safegard of their conquests." But *Romescot* is the English name for "Peter's Pence," the Papal tax: Spenser is guessing from the word to the system.

P.163, l.1. Spenser's plan is an extension of the system already used in some places, that lands were set apart for the maintenance of the garrison, and of the system of composition which was growing, and had been put in practice by Bingham in Connaught, whereby the indefinite cess and tribal dues were replaced by a fixed annual contribution. He puts the maintenance of the garrisons on this as a first charge.

P.163, l.30. With Spenser's figure compare Cusack's, quoted in a note in Dymock's treatise on Ireland

(*Irish Arch. Soc.*, 1843; p. 62): "c and iiijxx and iiij cantredys (undrids other barronys) in Leynster xxxi in Connaght xxx in Mounyster lxx in Vlster xxxv in Meyth xviii. Every cantred containeth viijxx plow-lands (xxx towns) every towne cont. viij plowlands arrabile besyd the pasture of ccc kine in every towne, and none of them shall aneer the other, Sowme of herible plowland liii.m. and iiijxx.)" In the Book of Howth (*Cal. Carew* MSS vol. 5), p.27 ff., there are three reckonings, the second a variant of the above. In the Description of Ireland, 1598, (ed. Hogan, 1878) the total is 6814 Townlands, each containing 8 plow-lands arable, besides pasture for 300 kine: 54,512 plowlands besides woods. The plowland is 120 acres, of 4 roods by 40, the rood being 21 feet. All these are interconnected, and since the Book of Howth was once in Dublin Castle, and then belonged to Sir George Carew, whom Spenser must have known, we may believe his figures derive from these or related calculations. The basis is the same, though all figures vary. The survey of Ireland was proceeding, but most remained to be done.

P.165, l.3. The skill of this disposition of forts and blockhouses may be gathered from our map. The scheme is roughly thus: *Ulster*: guard the river-crossings, so as to divide O'Neill from the Scots to north-east, the comparatively quiet region to south-east, the minor chiefs to southward over whom he claimed suzerainty, and from O'Donnell to westward, with whom his predecessor fought but he entered into dangerous friendship: O'Donnell also to be cut off from Sligo and north Connaught, and the unruly

clans there. Strabane was Turlough Lynagh's seat; its strategic value was recognised by Tyrone, who destroyed it lest the English should occupy it. Lough Neagh was called Lough Sidney "by our soldiers" in compliment to Sir Henry Sidney. Bingham, writing on Nov. 18, 1596, says: "Ballyshannon or Sligo beinge possessed for her Maiestie and Garrizoned with Englishe (which is easie to be done, and the sooner the better), and a reasonable force to prosequute some 3 or 4 monethes, Connaght muste in necesetie submitt themselues to to her Maiesties obediencie, and be deuided from Vlster . . . miself hauinge vrdged to the Lord Deputies diuers times within these iiij yeares the takinge of Ballyshannon in to her Maiesties possession, the same beinge of more Vtilletie then Sligo . . . which beinge once done the Gale of this Rebellion were broken." (S.P.I*r*. 195.18) Docwra placed a fort there later on, when he founded Londonderry. A long discussion of this same plan is calendered among Carew MSS, 3.263.

Connaught: The north thus guarded, two central garrisons and the usual guard at Athlone, the President's seat, suffice; considerable trust, apparently, being placed in the Earls of Thomond and Clanrickard. MacWilliam Euter was the tribal name of the chief of Burkes of north-west Connaught; MacWilliam Eighter was now Earl of Clanrickard, which hereditary title superseded the tribal one. The place of Garrandough is uncertain: Miss Henley (*Spenser in Ireland*) identifies it as Corrandoo, a useful central position west of Athlone.

Leinster: Here the hills are the danger-point. One

garrison holds Feagh MacHugh's stronghold of Ballinecor, two lie to the south of the hills, and two in the plain to westward, at Leix (Maryborough) and Offaly (Philipstown), for police-work like the Connaught forts.

Meath: The dangerous quarter is the north-west, where O'Neill's underlings lie—Maguire, O'Rourke and so on—towards Connaught and West Ulster. Annaly is Co. Longford; Brenny, Cavan; Lough Sillon, Lough Sheelin.

Munster: faces the Spanish enemy, so four garrisons guard the coast. Two, inland, watch the difficult country between Co. Cork and Co. Limerick, which Spenser knew well, for his home was there. Kylmore, the Great Wood, lay west of the pass where Charleville is now; it was a notorious haunt of outlaws, and its garrison could also guard the Cork-Limerick road. Arlo has already been noted. Muskry Wherke is the barony of Clanwilliam, on the Tipperary side of the hills. The name Kilpatrick appears only in the late P.R.O. and T.C.D. MSS and in Ware; the others have blank spaces; and there is no Kilpatrick in the district. Kilpeacon is too far away to be useful, though in the barony; it may be Ardpatrick (Donepatrick in the Munster map in *State Papers of Henry* VIII, vol III), near Kilfinnane. But there was sometimes a garrison in Galbally, at the head of Arlo glen, and Galbally may be meant. The absence from this plan of mobile field forces working between the garrisons is doubtless due to the mechanical difficulties of supply and transport.

P.167, l.3. This plan was as old as Sidney's time and was revived in 1580-81.

P.171, l.14. The complaint was old, but the more usual suggestion was that the Lord Deputy should lie in Athlone; thus Wallop, Sherlock (*Titus* B *xii*) and Power (*ibid*).

P.173, l.14. Arklow was granted to Theobald, the first of the Butlers, before 1189.

P.176, l.31. Donnell MacCarthy was raiding as early as 1581, and continued some years after 1596: see note below.

P.179, l.32. In July, 1596, Wallop reported he could buy corn and beeves cheaper in Munster than in England. (S.P.I*r*. 191.20)

P.180, l.15. A very brief study of Wallop's correspondence as calendared will make clear the point of this. It is one of his most frequent suggestions.

P.184, l.19. I can find no trace of this. The Book of Howth gives a list of Baronets, but they were probably bannerets. The O.E.D. quotes this alone. It may be verbal tradition, not necessarily untrue, since the word was there.

P.185, l.18. All this is from Holinshed, I. 258, 674; who got it from Lambarde's *Perambulation of Kent*, including the citation of Jethro (*Exodus* xviii. 13-26). Spenser probably knew Lambarde's works, and possibly the man. He had read also Camden's chapter *Britanniae Divisio*, with its quotations from William of Malmesbury: see below. Much the same scheme is recommended in S.P.I*r*. 121.54.

P.186, l.27. Here Irenius paraphrases the passage of

William of Malmesbury quoted by Camden (ed. of 1590, p. 97; Holland, 1610, 158).

P. 186, l. 32. "Robin Hood" appears so often that it seems a slang term among the officials. St Leger uses it of "a knot of youths", including Donnell MacCarthy, engaged on such an adventure as Spenser describes. (S.P.Ir. 80.65) Donnell seems to have gained prestige and popularity by such affairs. Lord Roche of Fermoy was Spenser's neighbour and enemy; his base sons are still described as Robin Hoods in 1597. (*Cal. Carew* MSS. 3.227). This second mention of Donnell MacCarthy suggests haste, or compilation.

P. 189, l. 7. There is nothing so definite as this in Holinshed, but Ware notes: "Richard the 2", and against *Henry* VII; "This service was performed by Sir *Richard Edgecomb*, being appointed thereunto by a special commission from K. *Henry* the seventh. There is yet extant an exact diary of all his proceedings therein, from his first landing at *Kinsale* the 17th of *Iune* 1488. till his departure from *Dublin* the 30th of *Iuly* next." The *other oath* was that administered by Tyrone to his confederates at Lifford, receiving the sacrament together, Feb-Mar. 1595. (*Cal.* S.P.Ir. 187.19)

P. 189, l. 27. Drury caused the Munster gentlemen to "book" their men and stand surety for them in 1576.

P. 190, l. 22. Spenser now attacks the feudal lords and gentlemen of the Pale and Munster. Grey found them disappointing from the start: "Once this I can say, since my coming into this Gouernement could I not see any man of those that in defence or offence of priuate quarell would haue fownd an hundreth swordes

at his deuotion, that euer yett without pay in this your service would affoord mee a man." Warham St. Leger was very suspicious even of Ormond, whom he accused of slackness and of thinking more of his own interests than of the Queen's. (*Cal.* S.P.*Ir.* 1580-83, *passim.*) Private feud was outside the official consciousness, and such men could not understand the feud that was a normal and habitual part of life and was therefore not carried to such an extreme as to occupy the whole of life even for a time: whereas rebellion is an abnormality to be suppressed as speedily as possible. There was probably something in the financial argument: St. Leger reckoned the Desmond war was worth £3600 a year to Ormond. (S.P.*Ir.* 80.29)

P.192, l.19. Arundel is mentioned in the letter of the citizens of Cork cited earlier, but his revenue is given there as £1500.

P.193, l.28. Drury was President of Munster, 1576-78.

P.198, l.7. Holinshed I. 158, VI. 127: the second passage is connected with the series noted earlier. Some of this seems to come from Lambarde, though not accurately remembered.

P.198 ,l.26. Camden as noted earlier, quoting William of Malmesbury.

P.199, l.11. Chaucer, *Squire's Tale*, 596; *Complaint of Mars*, 9.

P.200, l.29. Statute 5 Edw. IV *c.* 3 enacts: "That every Irishman, that dwells betwixt or amongst Englishmen in the county of Dublin, Myeth, Vreill and Kildare . . . shall take to him an English surname of one town, as Sutton, Chester, Trim, Skryne, Corke,

Kinsale: or colour, as white, blacke, browne: or arte or science, as smith or carpenter: or office, as cooke, butler, and that he and his issue shall use this name." The objection to Oes and Macs is not to the personal names, but to the chiefly titles, which carried authority. This was well understood; Bingham's composition for Connaught carried the surrender of titles by 46 Macs and 26 Oes, who received patents according to English law in return. The list is in S.P.Ir. 120.2. On his invasion of Connaught which began the Tyrone rebellion, O'Donnell instituted a MacWilliam among the northern Burkes, a title disused for 10 years before: it was symbolic of his cause and purpose. The reference to O'Byrne is unjustified by history.

P. 202, l.25. Cf. the Notes on Ireland in MS *Titus* B *xii*, fol. 120 ff.: "(5). The said realm have bene for the more part altogether voyd of good laborers, handy craftes men and men of profitable occupatyons by meanes that the sonnes of laborers of husbandmen and other ther licke, have not bene brought upe in the occupations, and craftes of ther forfathers but would rather becum karne, evyle Doers, wasters, and idle men . . . for remedy wherof ther hath passed a act at a parliament holden 25 h. 6 ca. 7 . . . Thabuse remayne not with standinge."

P.203, l.20. See above, Spenser's discussion of "bollying", and cf. Bingham, writing Nov. 18, 1596: "the wastes there noe other then a Tartarian waste which is, if one parte be waste another is inhabited, the manner of they people beinge as it is to remoue with there Cattell from place to place." (S.P.Ir. 195. 18)

P.204, l.27. Another rule often recommended, seldom observed: orders, instructions, and complaints throughout the State Papers. The statute 12 Eliz. *c.* 1 prescribed a free school in each diocese.

P.207, l.6. One of the heads of "Russells discourse" in T*itus xii* is "Extortion of Sherifs Sergeants and Cessors". Spenser's idea seems to be, that as the Provost Marshal would be a permanent official, whereas the sheriffs were annual, more control could be exercised both by and over the marshal. His Provost Marshal is really a stipendiary magistrate with wide powers. Gardener complains (S.P.I*r.* 150.4) not only of the abuse of martial law, but that sheriffs seek general pardons on demitting office, for all offences committed in connection with it, and by themselves and their assistants, among whom they insert friends and clients in need of shelter from the law. His draft proclamation corroborates Spenser: "By reason of the aucthorytye of execution of marshall lawe by diuerse our late deputyes . . . granted as well to provinciall governers as to other more inferior gouerners of cuntryes, shryves, senesshalls, captaynes, and officers of lyke sort and that in the tyme of peace . . . wherby som partys so aucthorysed as aforsaid through ignorance of the course of the said Lawe . . . others in ther owne ambition to magnifye the greatnes of ther late purchased credyt, others seking vngodly and vnnaturall revenge, others to enriche them selves with the spoile of our pore subiectes in possessing vnlawfully ther goodes taken into ther handes vpp on the apprehension of any supposed malefactors which they knowe being ons taken cann hardly without great danger by ther wives children or

frendes be recouered the rather bicause by no present-ment inquyry or other record the certenty or value of the said goodes may be knowen, and yet in truth by no Lawe forfeted or lost, have executed by paynes of death no smale numbre of our said subiectes . . . by meane wherof our said subiectes so executed (not havinge meane to learne nor cause to knowe Lawes vnder which they were not bound to lyve) could neyther have assurance of lyve or lyvinge but most shamfully have bynn murthered . . ." In Nov. 1586, a "notable example" was made of one Henry Eyland, Sheriff of Roscommon, for executions and extortion contrary to law. (S.P.I*r*. 126.90)

P.208, l.9. Here I find one fairly certain trace of Bodin: "Et d'autant que les Atheistes mesmes sont d'accord, qu'il n'y a chose qui plus maintienne les Estats & Republiques que la Religion, & que c'est le principal fondement de la puissance des Monarques and seigneuries, de l'execution des loix, de l'obeissance des subiects, de la reuerence des Mag-istrats, de la crainte de mal faire, and de l'amitié mutuelle enuers vn chacun, il faut bien prendre garde qu'vne chose si sacree, ne soit mesprisee ou reuoquee en doute par disputes: car de ce point là depend la ruyne des Republiques . . . Ie ne parle point ici laquelle des Religions est la meilleure, (combien qu'il n'y a qu'vne Religion, vne verité, vne loy diuine publiee par la bouche de Dieu:) mais si le Prince qui aura certaine asseurance de la vraye Religion veut y attirer ses subiects, diuisés en sectes & factions, il ne faut pas à mon aduis qu'il vse de force: car plus la volonté des hommes est forcee, plus elle est reuesch: mais bien

en suyuant & adherant à la vraye Religion sans feinte ny dissimulation, il pourra tourner les coeurs & volontés des subiects à la sienne, sans violence, ny poine quelconque: en quoy faisant non seulement il euitera les esmotions, troubles, & guerres ciuiles, ains aussi il acheminera les subiects desuoyés au port de salut." (*de la Republique*, livre 4, ch. 7; ed. of 1593, p. 653) The practical outlook and Christian charity of William Lyon lead in the same direction, and Elizabeth's views were well known; but the passage involves Spenser's character as well. He cannot be called a religious poet, and this passage is a warning against ascribing religious opinions to him. It is clear that he has shed his undergraduate Puritanism: the implications of his declaration of the unity of religion are more debatable. It might be read as meaning that there is only one religion, the Protestant, and that all the Irish must be brought to it. His realism hardly allows of that interpretation, though he might think it desirable. We might be nearer his mind in reading it that all religions are one in their essence, the differences being only external and therefore not to be overemphasised. This is possible, and if he ever discussed religion with Ralegh we may well imagine the discussion taking that line. His experience of government would readily bring him to the Queen's notion, that the question is so ticklish that for the peace of the realm the less prominent is it the better. Or he may have taken it from Bodin without much thought of its implications: which is unlikely. This is not the place to examine Spenser's philosophy—a tangled subject at best—but I may say I suspect Ralegh's in-

fluence, or rather, the Renaissance syncretism that produced also the mysterious "atheism" of which Ralegh was a notorious sectary.

P.212, l.3. The scheme comes from the Statute of Winchester (13 Ed. I. 2. 5): "Highways . . . shall be broadened . . . so that there be neither dyke, tree nor bush where a man may lurk to do hurt within 200 foot of the one side and 200 foot on the other side of the way . . . etc." (Stubbs, *Charters*, 463-9) *Pace* is a regular form of *pass*, a narrow passage.

P.214, l.19. Camden records under the date 1595: "In the meane time, neuerthelesse, a great quantity of graine was brought into *England* from the *Hanse* Townes . . . which very much abated the price of graine, which by continuall raine in summer, and secret transportation, was growne to that high rate, that some of the baser sort of people at *London* began to rise in commotion." (*Annales,* tr. R. N.[orton], ed. of 1635, p. 450) A proclamation of July 31, 1596, deals with the dearth of corn. (S.T.C. 8257)

P.214, l.21. I have not found this ordinance for cattle-branding.

P.215, l.26. According to Camden, Henry "suppressed all Monasteries; perswaded thereto by such as preferred their private and their owne enriching before the honour of Prince and Country." (*Britannia*, description of Bury St. Edmunds)

P.217, l.9. Probably Essex, now coming to the height of his favour and popularity. If the *View* were written later than June, 1596, we should expect some mention or hint of the Cadiz expedition. The uselessness of

Essex in Ireland when he was sent there, is common knowledge.

P.218, l.8. Spenser's citation of Machiavelli is either from his unsure memory or scarcely candid. In his animadversions on Livy, I. 24, Machiavelli upholds the usefulness of dictatorship in time of crisis, and praises Venice for ruling through a small council; in II. 33, he points out that Consuls, Dictators and other Roman commanders had full powers in war, but not so "le repubbliche de' presenti tempi, come è la Viniziana e Florentina . . . se gli loro capitani, provveditori, e commissari hanno a piantare una artiglia, lo vogliono intendere, e consigliare."

P.218, l.24. According to Gardener there was a regular trade in pardons: "Item. pardons to hundredes and many more, no persons nor ther offences knowen, procured by base followes lyke somners sekinge who have offended and the pardon for all offences except treason to hir Maiesties personn and forging koynes, so I know not who maye not be a common murtherer and yet often tymes pardoned." (S.P.I*r*. 150.4) Many of the other abuses were charged against Fitzwilliam.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The following texts were examined for this edition:

London: British Museum: Harleian 1932, Harleian 7388, Additional 22022. Public Record Office: S.P. Ireland 202.4.58. Lambeth: MS 510.

Cambridge: University Library: Dd.x.60, Dd.xiv.28. Caius College: MS 188.221.

Oxford: Bodleian Library: MS Rawlinson B. 478.
Dublin: Trinity College: MS E. 3. 26.

I have not seen the "Gurney" MS, nor that "belonging to the Marquis of Stafford" which Todd used, nor have I used the Gough MS in the Bodleian Library. No MS is in Spenser's own hand.

The construction of a family tree of MSS demands the supposition of such a large and indeterminate number of intermediates that I prefer only to indicate what relationships I can in the following brief descriptions.

Caius College MS (cited as Ca): good text, but with gaps corresponding to pp. 38, l.17 to 41, l.3 and 41, ll.22-32 in our text. It alone clears up the difficulty on p.75 by the luckily recognisable attempt of the scribe to copy, by eye, the Greek word ὀσφύς. Beside the head-title is written: "This booke was written by Edward (*corr. to* Edmund) Spencer Clarke of the Counsell of the province of Mounster in Ireland in anno 1596."

The Public Record Office MS (P), calendared under the year 1598, has the same gaps as Ca. The special interest of its variant passage is discussed in our notes, p.49ff. It contains the word *Kilpatrick*, otherwise only in the T.C.D. MS and Ware's edition.

The Bodleian MS (B) is the basis of our text, and details are noted below. It has a special bibliographical interest, for at the end of the text is the inscription: "Mr Collinges I pray enter this Copie for mathew Lownes to be prynted when he do bringe other attorytie. Thomas Man." Thomas Man was Warden of the Stationers' Company, 1597-8, and Collings was the Company clerk. The note corresponds to an entry in

the Register under date 14th April, 1598: "Mathewe Lownes. Entred for his Copie vnder the hand of master Warden Man a booke intituled A viewe of the present state of Ireland. Discoursed by waye of a Dialogue betwene Eudoxus and Irenius. Vppon Condicion that hee get further aucthoritie before yt be prynted." (Arber, III. 111) The MS, then, belonged to Lownes or to someone else who was willing to let him print it, though the powers evidently were not, for he never did. It bears the name of "Johannes Panton, Lincoln" on a flyleaf, and "John Panton 1596" beside the head-title; also that of Richard Bagnett, and a note initialled by Rawlinson.

Of this MS there are two transcripts, written in several hands quire by quire: Cambridge University Library Dd. x. 60 and Lambeth 510. These hurried copies were possibly made when permission to print was refused. The latter was used by Grosart, because, he says, "(a) It was the copy submitted by the Author to the Archbishop of Canterbury for License; (b) It is initialled E.S. and dated by him; (c) It gives by far the most satisfactory readings throughout." The first reason rests only on its presence in Lambeth: it bears the name, on the back cover, of Thomas Perrin, who may be Thomas Perrin of St. John's Coll., Oxon., 1581-84, and the Inner Temple, 1586; which alone would invalidate Grosart's statement. The MS is initialled and dated like its exemplar B, but not necessarily by Spenser. The third reason is a sheer exaggeration. The real reason was probably that the Archbishop lent Grosart the MS, and he—characteristically—defended his own.

The two Harleian MSS and Cambridge University Library Dd. xiv. 28 (C) are medium texts with no very distinguishing marks. The text of 1932 is nearer that of Caius than is that of 7388. I should group them in the order C; 1932; 7388. There are no definite connections between them, but they represent the same tradition.

The Trinity College Dublin MS (T) is dated 1596 at the end, but seems to me a late copy. It contains the name *Kilpatrick*.

British Museum Addl. 22022 was used by Morris for the Globe edition, collated with the Harleian MSS. It is a late copy, solving some cruces by simple omission, and it belongs to a slightly different tradition, nearer Harl. 7388 than any other, but deriving through an exemplar which had belonged to someone who considered himself an authority on Irish, for Irish words and names are spelt in a fashion presumably nearer their pronunciation, and the synonym *Beantoolhe* is substituted for *Monashut*, which appears in all other texts.

The first printed edition was edited by Sir James Ware; Dublin, Printed by the Society of Stationers, 1633. It is dedicated to Viscount Wentworth, the Lord Deputy, better known as Earl of Strafford.

TEXTUAL NOTES

The present text is that of the Bodleian MS Rawlinson B.478, corrected from the Caius College MS 188. 221, and where that fails, from other sources as detailed below. The choice of basis may be held to need

justification, since the Caius MS may be considered the better; yet that MS required considerable emendation in detail, as well as the filling-in of its gaps, and, after long hesitation, sheer bibliographical sentiment prevailed: to complete Lownes's abortive project was an opportunity too delightful to miss. The minor emendations *passim* are little if anything more numerous, and are easily explicable; the punctuation is more careful; and the besetting sin of the scribe, haplography, produces errors which can be corrected with the greatest ease and certainty. If I have transgressed the strict canon, I have done it deliberately, allowing a human value to supersede a scientific regulation.

In the text all abbreviations are expanded without remark. Words supplied from the Caius MS are enclosed in square brackets. Where haplography has required words to be supplied, no note is given other than the brackets, since the thing is obvious on inspection: in all other cases the departure from the Bodleian text is noted below. It will be noticed that many of the errors in B are misreadings of the abbreviations, especially the *-th* abbreviation: State papers in Spenser's hand show very frequent use of these. The *th-y* abbreviation caused difficulty to the printer of *Epithalamion.*

A full collation of all ten MSS and Ware's print seemed scarcely worth the space it would occupy, as it is not required for the production of a reasonable text. To explain the text here printed is the object of this first table, and I add another, containing some of the more interesting and significant variations found in the MSS.

I. Variations from Bodleian MS.

(Corrections are made from MS Caius unless otherwise noted. No emendation has been made unless supported by at least four MSS; exceptions are noted.)

P.3, l.10. or] and
P.3, l.21. of] vpon
P.4, l.9. Phisition] Phicion
P.20, l.23. lawe] lawes
P.6, l.29. settlinge] settinge
P.6, l.32. hauinge] haue
P.7, l.3. a peaceable] an vnpeaceable
P.7, l.3. envred] entred
P.7, l.9. coulde] would
P.7, l.28. both to] from
P.8, l.8. greater] greate
P.8, l.10. This] That
P.9, l.12. vpon] against
P.10, l.25. they] these
P.13, l.1. alledge] alledged
P.14, l.1. resistance] assistance
P.14, l.15. her] their
P.14, l.21. innovacion] invocasion
P.15, l.15. Ireland] England (scribe wrote E*ngland*, altered it to I*reland*, and again to E*ngland*)
P.15, l.22, doe so remaine] not so remaind
P.16, l.20. goodlye] godlye
P.17, l.30. they] yt
P.18, l.19. envred] entred
P.18, l.27. and comaundment a lawe] a comaundment and a lawe
P.20, l.6. Countryes and Valleys] Country and Valley

P.20, l.14. For] But
P.21, l.4. they lurked] *after* Killalowe (*see next table*)
P.21, l.17. thence] there
P.21, l.22, ferne] farme
P.22, l.6. space] tyme
P.22, l.7. Inshequin] In Shegum
P.24, l.2. and] of
P.25, l.2. they T.W] then (*om* Ca)
P.26, l.19. Manie] Marie *altered from* Verie
P.26, l.23. well nighe] willinglie
P.28, l.25. then] them
P.29, l.23. Polliticum] Pollicium
P.29, l.25. lawes] lawe
P.30, l.5. Countrie, they] County, that
P.30, l.26. excheates] excheat
P.33, l.9. and] or
P.33, l.19. case] cause
P.34, l.29. suffycientlye] suffyciente
P.34, l.32. course] cause
P.35, l.5. can be gotten] is taken
P.39, l.21. well] *from* C: *passage missing in* Ca)
P.39, l.26. was C] is
P.39, l.28. it is] *from* C
P.39, l.28. nor C] but
P.40, l.14. lapp C] Topp
P.41, l.31. title C] little (*gap in* Ca)
P.42, l.10. statutes C] states (*sic* Ca)
P.43, l.1. the W] that (*sic* Ca)
P.44, l.2. tryflinge] tryfline
P.45, l.3. analoge] anolie
P.45, l.7. stablinge] stabline
P.45, l.12. vpper] proper (Ca *omits* garment)

P.45, l.18. Comonlie] Comodytie
P.46, l.3. Sorehin W] Forehin (*See next table*)
P.46, l.16. statute] state
P.46, l.32. *Words dropped by* B *in turning over page*
P.47, l.9. Iuste] deepe
P.47, l.32. shalbe] is
P.48, l.27. proceded] procede
P.49, l.18. derived] deuided
P.49, l.21. it peopled] that people (yt *read as* yt)
P.49, l.23. cheifeste] cheif
P.50, l.27. Ireland] that (*inserted*) Iland
P.52, l.1. with] without
P.52, l.20. Pict] Pike
P.52, l.92. clouded] concluded
P.53, l. 24. they] yow
P.60, l.30. are] is
P.61, l.7. Strabo] Strabb
P.61, l.16. nacions] nacion
P.62, l.7. their] the
P.62, l.28. mere] nere
P.64, l.11. yeare] yeares
P.64, l.32. manye] maye
P.65, l.3. spoyles] spoyled
P.65, l.8. caught] taught
P.65, l.14. could] would
P.66, l.6. *See next table*
P.66, l.8. Herodotus] Herodus
P.66, l.9. descryption] descypline (?="*lesson*")
P.66, l.16. Antiquarie] Atiquarie
P.67, l.8. like] little
P.68, l.21. banksyde] backsyde
P.69, l.4. her] the

P.69, l.5. saifgard] saifgare
P.70, l.20. troblesome] troblesomes
P.71, l.3. worde] name
P.71, l.5. Launlaider W] *blank in all* MSS
P.71, l.6. the strong hand W] *blank in* MSS
P.71, l.13. the] their
P.71, l.25. of yours] your
P.73, l.21. Scithian] Scithians
P.74, l.17. much] many
P.75, l.8. these] the vse
P.75, l.19. Æolian C,W] *see next table*
P.75, l.20. describing] distributing
P.77, l.16. Licanthropia] P,W] Hicanthropia
P.79, l.2. in them . . .Inland 22022, W] *see next table*
P.80, l.12. Inglishe] Irishe
P.81, l.1. deartes] dearth
P.82, l.29. there] they
P.83, l.13. either] thother
P.83, l.16. enhabled] enhabited
P.83, l.25. other] theire
P.84, l.30. Asia] Asai
P.84, l.32. saie] said
P.85, l.1. and] or
P.86, l.18. Maccorish] Noccorish
P.87, l.25. other] there
P.87, l.30. dispise the] dispose his
P.88, l.1. noe] in a
P.88, l.4, cause] course
P.88, l.4. this] his
P.90, l.5. Iorneyinge] Iorninge
P.90, l.28. vnaptnes] aptnes
P.90, l.32. and] are

P.92, l.3. the] these
P.92, l.11. soe] fio
P.92, l.16. quilted] gylded
P.92, l.22. and] as
P.93, l.15. common] evill
P.94, l.23. in] Noe:
P.94, l.29. feastes and] feast
P.95, l.17. aucthoritie] aucthorities
P.97, l.24. trator] trators
P.97, l.25. songe] same
P.97, l.27. there was] they were
P.100, l.11. and] that
P.101, l.26. forte] fortes
P.104, l.31. other] there
P.105, l.10. wee] yee
P.106, l.27. from] for
P.107, l.14. handsome... thereon] haue some... thereof
P.107, l.21. the] his
P.108, l.2. pasture] pastures
P.108, l.27. well wote] will note
P.109, l.4. as] doe
P.109, l.28. weltringe] mellinge
P.110, l.5. *Palladius*] *Pallidus*
P.110, l.22. worke] marke
P.116, l.3. stronger] stranger
P.116, l.4. none] any
P.116, l.24. purposed] purpose
P.116, l.31. victuallers] victualls
P.116, l.8. the] theire
P.116, l.19. tellinge] tell
P.116, l.26. if] of
P.117, l.29. lyke] light

P.118, l.3. those great] their
P.119, l.32. discountenancing] discontynewinge
P.120, l.21. Banno] Ranno
P.120, l.30. incureable] incurerable
P.122, l.26. soueraigne] noble
P.123, l.5. contynueing] contayninge
P.123. l.11. bowes] lawes (boughes *var.* MSS)
P.123. l.14. Did] Doe
P.125, l.14. 12000] 2000
P.127, l.4. 10000] 1000
P.128, l.22. Loughfoyle] Laythfoyle
P.128, l.23. Fermanagh] Fermagh
P.129, l.23. contynewall] contynewallie
P.130, l.5. fower] former
P.131, l.18. or] all
P.131, l.21. winter] night
P.131, l.30. they] the
P.132, l.3. burnte] burte
P.133, l.17. vnto] with
P.134, l.23. that] the
P.134, l.25. euer] neuer
P.135, l.1. his] theire
P.135, l.24. there] they
P.136, l.10. waste and consume in] spoyle and waste at
P.137, l.9. when] where
P.139, l.10. here] so
P.139, l.24. Segnor] Sequor
P.140, l.5. the which] then
P.140, l.9, as] and
P.141, l.22. that] the
P.141, l.28. the] that
P.144, l.4. Companie] Companies

P.144, l.9. Pagadore] Pugadore
P.144, l.31. lawe] lawes
P.146, l.20, Shan] Ohan
P.147, l.18. raught] wrought
P.148, l.11. are] were
P.148, l.18. Scythians] Scythian
P.148, l.28. wronge] wrought
P.149, l.24. his] the
P.149, l.27. enterprize] prize
P.150, l.2. that] the
P.152, l.3. fastnes] fatnes
P.152, l.6. that] the
P.152, l.9, got vnto] gettinge to
P.152, l.17. hardinesse] hardnesse
P.152, l.17. that] the
P.153, l.15. forpyned] sone pyned
P.154, l.32. and as for] or
P.155, l.24. sure] some
P.156, l.1. other] theire
P.156, l.18. nescit *from* P, W. (Ca as B)
P.156, l.22. the] there
P.157, l.10. as] a
P.160, l.8. shal become] shalbe come
P.161, l.21. be manie] remaine
P.162, l.14. which] of
P.164, l.28. victuallers] victualls
P.165, l.5. same] said
P.165, l.17. waye] maye
P.167, l.18. landes] land
P.169, l.2. ijm] iijm
P.170, l.16 E*uter*] E*nter*
P.170, l.18. Conhors T.W] B, Ca *blank space*

P.170, l.19. Mackmurries] Mack*blank*
P.170, l.27. that] the
P.171, l.6. he] yt
P.171, l.30. thinkes] thinges
P.172, l.24. breed] bread
P.172, l.28. wydenes] wyldnes
P.174, l.2. possessours C] possessions (possessioners Ca)
P.174, l.13. Ballinocorre] Ballinorros
P.174, l.27. fifte] firste
P.175, l.12. Orelies] Oneales
P.175, l.17. 3400] 4400
P.175, l.23. for] fore
P.176, l.18. It] I
P.177, l.18. Kilpatrick P,T,W] *rest blank*
P.177, l.24. the] that
P.178, l.25. 50] 100
P.178, l.26. Fedard] Eedard
P.179, l.7. inlande] in all lande
P.179, l.30. seasonable] reasonable
P.182, l.11. tymes] tyme
P.182, l.15. that] yf
P.183, l.13. lawe] lawes
P.183, l.29. counterpoise] counterpose
P.184, l.4. consiste] consistes
P.184, l.8. bearded] barred
P.184, l.8. lords] bills
P.184, l.26. settlinge] settinge
P.184, l.32. be amended] amend
P.185, l.4. vyolente] vyolate
P.185, l.9. Ireland] Iland
P.185, l.13. owtlawes] owlawes

P.185, l.20. or Wapentackes] Rapentackes
P.185, l.30. that tythinge] the tythinges
P.185, l.30. Laythe] tythe
P.186, l.10. Centuryes] Centuryons
P.187, l.1. the] all
P.187, l.4. awe] one
P.187, l.13. then he] and so
P.187, l.18. envring] endeavouring
P.187, l.18. gentlemanly] generall
P.188, l.3. also of] by
P.189, l.6. shorter C] sharter
P.189, l.24. starteth] started
P.190, l.19. them] him
P.192, l.12. sorehin W] for him (forehin C*a*)
P.193, l.8. conceale] conceald
P.193, l.14. thereout] thereabout
P.194, l.1. out] not
P.194, l.24. in] with
P.195, l.3. combyninge] companiinge
P.195, l.5. priviledges] procedinges
P.195, l.7. are] were
P.195, l.10. these] Englishe
P.195, l.13. sharper] sharpe
P.195. l.21. intruding thereinto] entering therevnto
P.195, l.25. when] where
P.196, l.11. allegiance] religion
P.197, l.5. you] I
P.197, l.6. must] much
P.197, l.8. and] then the
P.197, l.14. worse] worst
P.199, l.2. speare] sparke
P.200, l.30. Edwarde the iiijth P, W] *blank space* B, Ca

P.200, l.31. then] that
P.201, l.9. his] this
P.201, l.10, Oes] Othes
P.201, l.10. Mackes] markes
P.202, l.9. reforme] refore
P.202, l.14. are] care
P.202, l.20. For] But
P.202, l.31. to] from
P.203, l.20. of] for
P.203, l.22. algates] alwayes
P.206, l.7. Carrowes] Carrowe
P.206, l.16. stockes] strookes
P.206, l.21. submitted them selves] submitteth him self
P.207, l.10. whom] whence
P.207, l.16. more] maye
P.208, l.13. it be] beinge
P.208, l.17. professors] professions
P.211, l.5. doth] doe
P.211, l.11. gravest] greatest
P.211, l.19. your] his
P.211, l.26. growe] grewe
P.212, l.19. streightes] sleightes
P.214, l.21. proclamed] proclameth
P.214, l.30. ordinances] evidences
P.215, l.22. their] then
P.216, l.6. holdes] holders
P.216, l.8. overronne] overcome
P.217, l.3. Iustyce] Iustyces
P.217, l.7. eye] key
P.217, l.23. inconvenient] convenient
P.218, l.29. exportacion] expectation
P.219, l.1. *New paragraph*

P.219, l.32. Antiquities] Aucthorities

The italicised words in the following list appear in B, but are omitted from our text as superfluous:

P.4, l.15. to yow *to* tell
P.10 l.6. had *had*
P.13, l.17. neede *he*
P.19, l.27. desertes, *which*
P.20, l.19. Inland *Countrye*
P.22, l.15. waistinge *and spoylinge*
P.22, l.28. *yf* in case
P.24, l.14. noe lesse *noe lesse*
P.24, l.25. of *of* Ireland
P.30, l.27. and *that*
P.31, l.14. take holde *of* (*sic* T)
P.31, l.30. Some *somme* (*see next table*)
P.32, l.17. lesse then *then*
P.38, l.20. *as now they* By which
P.40, l.1. *of* a pale
P.40, l.19. in so *in so*
P.45, l.21. that *that*
P.53, l.12. *re*receyued
P.55, l.19. *theire* ignorance
P.57, l.1. *hauinge* scarce
P.61, l.16. nacions *nacions*
P.65, l.3. *the* stealthes
P.69, l.20. will *yee* yett
P.77, l.2. in *in*
P.77, l.5. enter into *his Armes woulde enter into*
P.83, l.1. *evill* bent, both *against*
P.85, l.26. and vtterlie *and vtterlie*
P.86, l.19. the other is *the other is*

P.90, l.3. meate *or*
P.98, l.7. see so *good an ornament*
P.114. l.10. *them* the same
P.123, l.16. *as too vyolent* medicyne
P.129, l.17. *of* fresh
P.136, l.21. surely *surely*
P.136, l.29. and *and*
P.156, l.24. thus *thus*
P.161, l.17. *the* tennantes
P.165, l.7. *and* so as
P.184, l.32. now *that*
P.190, l.5. *such* followers
P.192, l.10. demeanes *of*
P.193, l.5. *what*soeuer
P.195, l.4. *but* what reason
P.195, l.22. *in* English
P.199, l.24. *and* to supplye
P.202, l.4. liberall *the* Artes
P.217, l.27. *an* vncontrowled

II. SELECTED COMPARATIVE READINGS

(The readings of Lambeth and C.U.L. Dd. x. 60 are not recorded, as they normally follow B.)

P.6, l.29. The Ca reading *settlinge* becomes *settinge* (B, C,T) through the variant spelling *setlinge* (P,W, etc.); so also at p.184, l.26.

P.7, l.3. The word is *enured*, but for some reason spelt *envred* (Ca,C,T,P), whence *entred* by misunderstanding.

P.7, l.4. *Godlie* and *goodlie* are difficult to separate, here,

C,1932, 7388,T, reading the former, and Ca,P, 22022,W, the latter; but at 13.25, only T reads *godlie*.
P.10, l.10. Colloquial style makes difficult copying unless punctuation is well established; this phrase is typical: *which is to saye noe* B, 7388; *which is to saye they haue noe* Ca; *which is saye they* C, 1932,T,P,W; *which is as saye they* 22022.
P.21, l.4. I can explain the discrepancies here only by assuming a marginal alteration wrongly picked up; the C scribe has tried to improve a reading like B.
foote in which they lurked, and so kept them from breaking any further, by building . . . Killalowe P, 7388, 22022, W (*repaired the* Castle)
foote in which they lurked by building . . . Killalowe *and so kept them from breaking any further* 1932, T
foote in which by building . . . Killalowe, *they lurked, and kepte them from breakinge any further* B, Ca (B omits *them*)
foote in which by building . . . Killalowe, *they kepte them from lurkinge and breaking any further* C
P.23, l.18. Ware, 7388, and 22022 read *warned*; 1932, *regarded*; T, *recorded*: but C and Ca read *rewarded* like B. It means *considered*, though this use is later than any noted in O.E.D. (*s.v.*, I.1.).
P.24, l.26. In place of the reference to Bremingham, P has the following false history: *havinge overthrowne his brother* Robert Le Bruce *in a field at*   *he eftsoones sent over* Hugh de Lacy, *whome hee beefore vppon some occasion of his enimyes had imprisoned & disgraced, and appointed* Generall, *in those warres against* Edwarde Le Bruce.
P.26, l.19. *Manye manie* Ca, C, 7388; *Many more* 1932, P, 22022,T,W; *Marie manie more* B, which may possibly be right, but I have gone with the majority.

P.27, l.4. B, Ca, 7388 read *nose*, the rest *moste*: the *nose* of a ship is good enough 16th century English, and the metaphor is much improved.

P.27, l.11. P has a long gap from here to 29. 10, reading *let vs turne to the case how it falleth* . . .

P.28, l.11. Brackets have made difficulty here, which I have cleared uncertainly by removing them from B. The readings are *haue* (I *right well knowen*) *to kyndle* B, 1932; *have* (I *right well knowe*) *and yett often doe kyndle* Ca (probably the true reading); *have* I *right well knowen* (*and yet often tymes doe*) *kyndle* 22022, W;

P.31, l.30. *Some there* Ca, 7388, T, 22022, W; *Some, some sume* B; *Some such* 1932.

P.37, l.7. The B scribe has written *passed*, then, with his genius for haplography, has looked on to the word *compassed*, and turned back to insert *com*—.

P.37, l.23. B,C, 1932, omit *as* Caesar . . . *sayth*, which is in P, 7388, T, 22022. Ca reads *as in his commentary*, which obvious error may have led to the omission of the whole phrase by scribes who found it in their exemplar.

P.38, l.17. Ca and P omit from I*ren*: *yt* to p.41. l.2, *enforced* inclusive, leaving blank space.

P.41, l.22. Ca omits from *and that* to the end of the speech.

P.41, l.23. The reading *pettorells* (B, *petrells* C) makes it clear that the meaning is "peitrel", a horse's breastplate, not "petronel", a pistol, as has been suggested.

P.42, l.23. C, 7388, T, 22022, read *chattells* (with slight differences); B, Ca, 19, read *cattells* or thereby): the meaning is the same. Ware's *cattle* is evidently an attempt to "emend" the latter form.

P.46, l.3. All names and Irish words are maltreated, and the long *s* makes this one worse than some: *forehin* B, Ca, *c*, F*orehin* P, F*orehim* 1932, F*orichin* T, B*rehim* 7388, S*orehim* 22022, S*orehin* W (who has it elsewhere as S*orehon*).
P.46, l.26. E*nglish* and I*rish* are apt to be mixed: here 7388, 22022 read E*nglishe* . . . I*rishe*, the other MSS I*rish* . . . E*nglish.* Ware has E*nglish* . . . but omits the second adjective.
P.46, l.30. The reading given is that of Ca, P, T, 22022; 7388 omits *felonye*; C, 1932 read *family should be required or charged with . . . cryme.* B may have had the latter, and omitted the last phrase to make the best of an obviously faulty place.
P.49, l.24. Ware begins the intrusive paragraph (see general notes) here: . . . I *suppose to bee* Scythians.
Eudox. H*ow commeth it then to passe, that the* Irish *doe derive themselves from* Gathelus *the* Spaniard?
Iren. T*hey doe indeed, but* (I *conceive*) *without any good ground.* F*or if there were* . . . etc., as in our general notes.
P.52, l.17. Ca, and Morris read P*ompeius Mela,* who would appear to be P*omponius Mela.* B reads P*ompeus, Mela,* who might be two persons; but it is probably the same, occasioned by neglect of an abbreviation-mark at some point in the tradition.
P.58, l.32. P again has variant reading, down to 61.24.
P.61, l.18. B reads N*orthumb* with a contraction-mark; C. Ca, *the* N*orthumbers*; T. W, etc N*orthumberland.* I read N*orthumbria* as the easiest extension of the contraction.
P.62, l.12. Here, and at 67. 8, the copyists have been puzzled by the unheralded appearance of the Africans

and have tried to emend. Here B, Ca, C, P, 1932, read *Africans*; T, 7388, 22022, W, read *Spanyards*. At 67.8, B, Ca, C, P, 1932, P, 7388, T, read *Africans*; 22022, W, read *Gaules*. The likelihood of revision is discussed in the general notes.

P.66, l.5. There is a blank space after *mantle of* in B, Ca, P, 1932; Ware reads *mantle etc.*, as if his MS resembled these. C has a blank after *Elyas*; T a small one. 7388, 22022 end the sentence at *Elyas* without leaving a blank, thus cutting the difficulty.

P.69, l.9. The phrase *her mantles . . . Combred* is in Ca, P.T, 7388, 22022 read *in stead of a cradle and all . . .* C 1933, W, read as B, except that W omits *all her*.

P.71, l.5-6. Only Ware has *Launlaider* and *the strong hand*; all MSS leave blanks.

P.73, l.1. *which* lamented (An attempt to emend haplography in the exemplar).

P.74, l.7. There is a blank in B, Ca, C, 1932, T, 7388 after *Buchanan and in*. P fills this with *Silvius*; T with *Hector Boetius and in flattesbury*; Ware with *Solinus*. While I have accepted this last, I regard all these as conjectural. (Flatsbury, mentioned in T, was secretary to the Earl of Kildare in the 1530's, and left historical notes used by Hooker (Holinshed, vol VI) among others.)

P.75, l.4. The words *it maye bee* constitute a probable dittography, since no other text has them. But as they do not interfere with the sense, I leave them.

P.75, l.19. The name has troubled the scribes, and varies: *Aeolian* C, T, W (who looked it up, and is therefore not evidence for his MS); *Aobian . . . Æolians . . . Aobians* Ca; *Ætolian* 1732, *Itollian* B; *Italyan*

7388; *Chian* P. At the word's last appearance Ca has *Ehian*, P, *Chian* again. It has clearly been *Æolian* in the original.

P.75, l.21. The Greek word defeated the scribes at an early stage. Only the writer of Ca made an attempt at it, which is fortunately just recognisable; the writer of 7388 tried to make it an English word, without much success; the others may never have had it in their exemplars, or may have failed to make sense of it. This has caused difficulty with the translation-word also. Later scribes prudently cut the whole phrase. The readings go: *the Chynebone called οφea the which* Ca; *the Chinbone called oxe* 7388; *the Chinebon called the which* C, 1932, T; *the called the which* B; *the chinbone the which* 22022; *the loyne the which* W, but a retranslation.

P.79, l.3. The text here is according to 22022 and Ware. B, C, 7388, T, read; *fashions, them the Inland*; Ca leaves a blank between *fashions* and *which* are; 1932 reads *in them then in those that dwell near*; 22022, W, *fashions in them, all seamen being naturally desirous of new fashions, then amongst*; P, *fashions in then, all seamen being more naturally desirous of new fashions then amongst the Inlande folke*. There has been a sort of haplography between *fashions in them* and *fashions then*, probably with one whole line dropped out.

P.91, l.14. The repeated word has lost a necessary phrase in B, Ca, C, T. Its correctness elsewhere is vouched for by the reference to Chaucer, *Sir Thopas*, 23: *His robe was of ciclatoun*.

P.100, l.22. The phrase *at tagge* appears only in B and its copies, the rest having *at advantage* or *at avantage*. I have

preserved it, as it may have some value: I take it to mean *caught by the loose locks of wool*; which is much more striking than the colourless phrase of the rest.

P.101, l.14. The word *quarter* is from C; P reads *hundred*: 22022, W omit the whole phrase after *trenched*; the rest have a blank space. Both C and P readings may be conjectural; either would make sense.

P.117, l.14. This haplography occurs in B, C, 1932, 7388, 22022; the other MSS and Ware are correct, except that T reads *with halfe consent*, and omits *they send*.

P.123, l.11. Most MSS spell *boughes*, but the spelling *bowes* in 7388 gives the clue to the error of B, *lawes*.

P.139, l.16. B reads *Senawick*; C *Senwick*; 1932 *Semnwicke*; 7398 *Stenwicke*; W *Sinerwick*: the rest *Smerwick* with the usual variations of *e* and *y*.

P.139, l.24. The title *Signior* (W) passes through variations of *Segnor* to *Sequor* (B, Ca, 1932), to *Iaguas* (7388), and *Iacques* (22022). See general notes.

P.147, l.31. W reads *Mac-Neiles*; Ca, 1932, T, *Mackonells*. Both McNeals and McConnells adventured in Ireland; here probably the latter are intended.

P.153, l.15. The unusual form *forpyned* has caused difficulty. Compare *forpyned* Ca, *forepyned* C, *sore pyned* 1932, 7388, T, W, *sone pyned* B, *soone pined away* 22022.

P.154, l.15. Ware says 6 *garrisons*, and adds 50 *horsemen* at Arklow or Wicklow: which, whether it have textual authority or not, corrects the arithmetic.

P.170, l.19. The name *Mackmurries* is from Ca, B reading *Mack* with a blank space after. P reads as Ca, T *Mackmurrs*, W *Murries*; C *the Mackuires*, 1932 *Mack-*

uyrrs, 7388 *Mackquiares*, 22022 blank. The latter group have misread the name as that of the much better known Maguire, who, however, lived further north.

P.178, l.32. Arithmetic is not the copyist's forte. The total (with 50 on Cork) should be 580, but there is a persistent false addition of 480 as in B.

P.185, l.24. Other texts have *borsholder*, which would be rather more correct; but the B reading is possible, and fits Spenser's etymology.

P.189, l.6. The B reading is not isolated: *sharper* Ca becomes *sharter* B and so *shorter* in the rest. Or the process may be reversed.

P.199, l.2. All the British Museum MSS agree with B in readinge *sparke*, which Morris suggests "may be a provincial form of the O. Eng. *sparthe*, a battle axe." But Ca, P, T agree with Ware in reading *speare*, which may be verified by reference to the source in Camden (quoting from William of Malmesbury), where we read *cum lanceis suis hastam tangebant.*

P.211, l.8. There seems to be something missing here, but all texts read thus. Spenser's idea seems to be that there is *nothing amiss*, or *nothing contrary to true religion* in the comely order of the Church.

POSTSCRIPT

I owe thanks to various friends, but especially to the Master and Fellows of Caius College, Cambridge, for permission to examine their MS and to procure rotographs of it; to the Provost of Trinity College,

Dublin; to librarians who have shown their usual courtesy; and above all to my wife for much drudgery.

Much more could be made of the *View* by taking it as a centre round which to group dissertations on Irish history, but that would be a different work, beyond my competence and outside my purpose. In the citation of documents I have observed a rigid economy—the briefest inspection of the Calendar of State Papers will prove to the student how much corroborative evidence exists—and, having learned early to rely only on documents and to eschew the factious publications (both English and Irish) called Histories of Ireland, I have cited documents only.

One document might have been appended—the "Briefe Note of Ireland" (S.P.I*r*. 202. pt. 4.59), quoted by Grosart, I, 231, which describes the destruction of the Munster plantation. The only evidence for attributing it to Spenser is that it is endorsed "by Spencer" in a later hand. That there are similarities in its policy to some part of the View is not surprizing, since I have shown that policy to be widely held, but I do not accept it as his. Its execrably highflown rhetoric might be set down to emotional excitement, but Spenser's style, in verse and prose, however decorative, is always controlled and never florid. He does not express emotion in that way, and though hysteria may play queer tricks, it is a large assumption that it would so completely destroy the training and habit of a lifetime. What is more cogent, the writer deliberately attempts to exalt Ormond at the expense of Norreys, the Lord President of Munster. Norreys indeed, a sick man at the time, showed neither skill nor resolution, and a sufferer might

think little of him, but I see no reason why Ormond should deserve any manifestation of partizanship at Spenser's hands, then or at any other time.

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